

REMARKS

UPON

The LIFE

Of the MOST REVEREND

Dr. *JOHN TILLOTSON*,

COMPILED

By *THOMAS BIRCH*, D.D.



L O N D O N,

Printed for W. OWEN, at *Homer's Head*, near
Temple-Bar. 1753.

R. E. M. A. R. K. S.

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On the LIFE of Archbishop TILLOTSON.

IT has been expected for half a Century that some one who had a Regard for the Memory of Archbishop *Tillotson*, a Man so famous in his Generation upon many Accounts, would have oblig'd the World with an exact and impartial History of his Life. At length an ingenious and industrious Gentleman has endeavour'd to perform this Service to the Publick: And I can't but be of Opinion he would have done it better, had he not made too great Use of Bishop *Burnet's* Flourishes and Hyperboles. He should have consider'd, it was the Bishop's profess'd Opinion in his Reflections on *Varillas*: "That an Historian who favours his own Side is to be forgiven, tho' he puts a little too much Life in his Colours, when he sets out the best Side of his Party, and if he but slightly touches the Failings of his Friends, and severely aggravates those of the other Side: Tho' in this he departs from the Laws of an exact Historian, yet this Bias is so natural, that if it lessens the Credit of the Writer, yet it doth not blacken him." The Strains and Figures of popular Eloquence which flow from such partial Writers ought to be little regarded, as, I hope, I shall give every one Reason to believe by the following Remarks upon this Performance.

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It is indeed no Reflection upon Mr. Tillotson, that his Father was an Anabaptist, which neither Bishop B. nor this Author deny; but then, what this Gentleman affirms, p. 5. is not probable, that *his first Education was among the Puritans of the best sort.*

In p. 400. his Pupil Mr. Beardmore says, “ there
 “ was a kind of Feud in the College betwixt the
 “ old and new Fellows: For 'tis well known what
 “ Differences in Opinion and Affection the Civil
 “ Wars created, which Differences extended to the
 “ Universities and the particular Colleges and So-
 “ cieties therein,” and I may add even to the Gram-
 mar-Schools of the nation. This means, that there
 were two Parties in the College, (*viz. Clare-Hall*)
 the one of which were called Roundheads, who
 were certainly season'd with the principles of Resist-
 ance and Rebellion. And 'tis likely Mr. Tillotson
 was one of them, since Mr. Beardmore at least be-
 lieves, *that he according to the Prejudices of his Edu-
 cation might be something bias'd that way, tho' not very
 hotly, after he came under him*; and so was one of
 those, who lay rather under the disgust of the Senior-
 Fellows. And therefore it is not at all improbable,
 that these Senior-Fellows should call that part of the
 College which he and his Pupils took up, the
Roundhead Corner, whatever outward Respect out
 of Fear they might shew him. And tho' he might
 not be very hot after Mr. B. came under him, be-
 cause soon after the Times were reduced to some
 Quiet, the King and his Cause being entirely sub-
 dued; yet it is plain enough he was a Favourite
 with the Rump-Parliament, who would not have
 given him, as Mr. B. thinks they did, a *Mandamus*
 for a Fellowship, if he had not been warm enough
 from his first Admission, and afterwards for their
 side. He was therefore active enough for the then
 higher Powers; and as according to the bias of his
 Principles

Principles there can be no reasonable Doubt he was pleased with the King's Overthrow at *Worcester*; it is by no means incredible, that he should add to the College Graces, a Clause of Thanksgiving for the late *Victory* gained over CHARLES STUART at Worcester, a thing which the Senior-Fellows would not dare to oppose. And what if Dr. *Blythe* and Dr. *Vincent* did not remember this Fact after 45 Years, or may be never heard of it, they both being admitted after that time? An alteration of a Grace for a Meal or two might easily be forgot at so great a distance. And since it is not probable it would be openly spoke of for the nine Years before the Restoration; and the Joy of this putting all such things quite out of People's Heads, and Mr. T. leaving the University very soon after, it is no marvel, that such a matter should be no longer thought of by the Generality. Mr. *Denton's*, Mr. *Payler's*, and Mr. *Mountain's* are only negative Testimonies. And it is not a little remarkable, that the latter's Letter and Mr. *Beardmore's* Account of Mr. T. are not to be reconciled in some very material Particulars. As to what Dr. *Hickes*, who was a man of known Integrity and Veracity, relates, in *some Discourses* &c. Mr. B. in a good measure confirms it; and his Declaration, that he has related the whole upon very good Authority, will be a sufficient reason to most Men to give full credit to it, being all of it perfectly agreeable to Mr. T.'s Principles at that time. There is no reason to question but Mr. T. was hot enough on the Parliament side, when he came first to the University: And therefore there is no improbability in his being denied admittance with other loyal Scholars to kiss the King's Hand at Sir *John Cull's* House. And it is not sufficient to answer, that it is not at all surprizing if such a *Freshman* was not admitted, or that he pretended to it, or if he had, that it would have been denied him. For when

the King was there, he was a Captive, and persons of meaner Character were admitted to kiss his Hand. And Freshmen are generally more ambitious of such Honours, and desirous of such Novelties, than men of Standing and Years. And a Distinction being made between Roundheads and Cavaliers among the Academy Youth, it is not at all strange, that he who, we may reasonably believe, was signalized among the former, should be refused, when others were let in.

Mr. *Beardmore*, p. 398. says his Tutor "pray'd much in secret in his Bedchamber. But it seems he used his Voice in them, but so as none could perceive or hear the same, as he thinks, except himself, who kept just over him." And yet he spoke so loud and distinctly, that Mr. *Beardmore* could observe *he seemed to be much contrite in his Devotions*. He therefore, like the Saints of those times, was very willing to be heard of Men; and when he entered into his Closet did not pray in that secret manner, as our Blessed Saviour directs, but rather after the manner of those who for a Pretence made long Prayer, and so outwardly appeared righteous unto Men.

Dr. *Hickes*, to prove what sort of Principles Mr. *T.* was then remarkable for, had taken notice, that *Prideaux*, *Cromwell's* Attorney General, had invited him to teach his Son, and be a Chaplain in his Family, and that this same Son was he who was in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Rebellion. Now it can't be supposed, that so zealous a Man as *Prideaux* would have made choice of him, if he had not known him to be of the same Party, and a proper Person to instil into his Son the same Affection to the good Cause, which shewed itself more openly in 1685, altho' no Overt-Act could legally be proved against him. But this Author says, p. 13. that the Conduct of young *Prideaux*, at so great a Distance
of

of Time, had no real Connection with his Tutor's instructing him in the Rudiments of Learning. But not to insist upon the known Intention of taking a private Tutor into Family, which is to instruct the Son in such Notions of Religion as were agreeable to those of his Father, as well as in School Learning; the Gentleman might have considered Mr. T. bore also the character of Chaplain. And nobody can dispute, but he who then profess'd himself an hearty Oliverian, would industriously answer the old Man's design in making his Son so too. And no wonder this Tincture once thoroughly imbibed was retain'd, and made Mr. *Prideaux* suspected of being engaged in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Rebellion; it being notorious his Principles were not alter'd, which would naturally induce him to favour a person, whose cause and *Cromwell's* were so very much alike. But this Gentleman suggests, p. 14. that such a Reflection was improper from Dr. *Hickes*, because his Brother was actually executed for that Rebellion. Indeed it would have been so, had his Brother received Instructions from him, which might at any time engage him in such a cause. But the case was so far otherwise, that he did all he could from time to time to convince him of his Errors, tho' unhappily without Success, as may be seen in the General Dictionary, p. 156. quoted by this Writer, who, if he had rightly consider'd the vast Difference between Mr. T.'s and Dr. *Hickes's* Instructions, must have discern'd the Impropriety of his intended Reflection upon the latter. All that can be concluded from such Instances is, that when people are early leaven'd with ill Principles, they commonly persevere in them with the greatest Obstinacy.

It is not denied that Mr. T. got the Rump's Mandamus for Dr. *Gunning's* Fellowship, which one of his own Party, Mr. *Clarkson*, enjoyed before him;

and this is defended, p. 9. by this fine Saying of Bishop Burnet : that *tho' men may consider the Avoidance that preceded their own Admission, yet none are so scrupulous as to pursue the Enquiry farther.* Now this supposes, Mr. T. would have made a Scruple of immediately intruding upon Dr. Gunning. But any one who reflects that Mr. T. was an avowed Parliamentarian, will never believe he would have any such Scruples. And moreover, this does not alter the Iniquity of the case : For he was in Dr. Gunning's Freehold and eat his Bread as well as the former, and was as much bound to Restitution, and as much an Usurper in the eye of the Law ; or else when Law and Right took place he could not have been turn'd out. And therefore he can never be excused for usurping that Fellowship, because one, as he could not but know, usurped it before him. And it is curious casuistical Divinity, especially in a Bishop, to teach men, they are not bound to be so scrupulous as to enquire farther than the last Avoidance of Places, out of which men were wrongfully ejected, tho' the ejected persons are alive, and it may be starving for Want of their Places. But the Bishop, who tells us the Civil Law has been his Study, could never have fallen into this Error, if he had minded these righteous Maxims : *Quod initio vitiosum est non potest tractu temporis convalescere. Vitia possessionum a majoribus contracta perdurant, et successorem auctoris sui culpa comitatur. Cum principalis causa non consistit, nec ea quæ sequuntur locum habent. Malæ fidei possessorem nullus ambigit, qui aliquid contra legum interdicta mereatur.*

I don't find in this Author, that Mr. T. expressed any Satisfaction in the Restoration of the Church and Monarchy. This perhaps might be owing as well to his still being fetter'd with the Prejudices of his puritanical education, as to the Loss he was to sustain by being ejected from the Fellowship, of which

which he had been the unjust Possessor for nine Years together, at which Ejection it seems he was not a little displeased, p. 402. both at the College and the lawful Owner. And we find, p. 18. he was still with his old Friends the Presbyterians, whose Commission he attended at the *Savoy Conference* in *July 1661*. But perceiving Episcopacy would undoubtedly be restored, he wisely took Orders from Dr. *T. Sydserf*, a Scottish Bishop (p. 403.) who, as Bishop *Burnet* says, gave Offence to the English Bishops by his promiscuous Ordinations; and 'tis very probable he the rather chose him for his Ordainer, because he did not demand either Oaths or Subscriptions, which Mr. *T.* did not much care for, as an English Bishop certainly wou'd. This it must be confess'd was not a very regular way of receiving Ordination; but it suited best his present way of thinking.

At last the terrible Act of Uniformity took place, and there was no more room left for Shuffling. The Law must either be outwardly obeyed, or else all Hope of Preferment was gone. This was a sad case: But it being a case of Necessity, he immediately, as this Author rightly expresses it, p. 18. *submitted* to the Act, that is to say, forced himself to comply with the Doctrine, Hierarchy and Worship of the Church of *England*, as things barely lawful, but at the same time retaining a great Regard and Value for the Dissenters, who, he believed, only disagreed with the Church in indifferent matters, it being much alike to him, whether Episcopacy or Presbytery had been establish'd.

This was occasioned not only by his Prepossessions in favour of the latter; but also by his Neglect of studying the antient Fathers, and of making himself thoroughly acquainted with the Doctrines and Practices of the primitive Church. It seems among the Fathers, p. 21. he chiefly applied

himself to S. *Basil* and S. *Chrysostome*. But methinks one that desired not only to excel as a popular Preacher, but to be likewise an orthodox Divine, should have well studied St. *Clement*, *Ignatius*, *Poly-carp*, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian* and others, who were the Glories of the golden age of the Church. And had he gone into all the best things of those Fathers, he had been a much surer Guide, and not been so ready at all times to treat away those things with the Dissenters, which give such an Advantage to the Church of *England* over all the Reform'd; nor been so earnest in endeavouring a Comprehension with the Presbyterians upon such Terms, as are not consistent with the Catholick and Apostolick Tradition concerning Episcopacy and episcopal Ordinations; and which, if yielded to, would be of more dangerous consequence to our Religion, than all our Dissenters are or can be.

He speaks, p. 31. of his Hero's contributing so much to turn the greatest Part of the City to a hearty Love of the Church, and a firm Adherence to its Communion. But 'tis very well known his were generally speaking only half Converts, such as rather bore with it, than loved it, because he preach'd and persuaded them to it, as a tolerable, but not as a laudable and excellent Constitution. And as the Stream can't rise higher than the Fountain, so it must be naturally believed his Preaching and Example could make no better Converts to the Church. His Congregation at S. *Laurence* for the greater Part consisted of these half Converts, many of which went to Church and Meetings both, and of Presbyterians, Independents, and Socinians; as the Clergy of those times were wont to observe. And whereas Bishop *Burnet* (*Vind.* p. 111.) saith, that whosoever gain'd his Thousands, he gained his Ten Thousands; it is notorious,

torious, that Dr. *Patrick*, Dr. *Cradock*, Dr. *Outram*, Dr. *Beveridge*, and Dr. *White*, afterwards Bishop of *Peterborough*, made every one of them more, as well as better Converts than he.

As to Mr. *T.*'s *Rule of Faith* Dr. *Hickes* did not endeavour to rob him of the Reputation of his being the Author. He only says he borrow'd it, or the Sentiments in it from the learned Dr. *Cradock*, who design'd to answer *Serjeant's* Book. And this is certainly true. For Dr. *Outram* averr'd it. And Bishop *Dolben*, when Dean of *Westminster*, put Dr. *Cradock* upon answering *Serjeant's* Sure-footing, and used to complain of Mr. *T.*'s forestalling him. And Bishop *White* of *Peterborough* saw and read great part of that learned Doctor's Answer, and commended it highly. It is therefore no great matter, tho' Bishop *Burnet* did not believe that the Doctor ever intended to answer *Serjeant*, or any Book whatever.

His tender method of treating with Dissenters, in which way he still persevered, is exemplified in p. 42. where it manifestly appears, if the Story there related be true, that Presbyterian Ordination was to be allow'd as valid; which would be so far from making a stronger Barrier against the Church of *Rome*, that it would weaken the Cause of the Church of *England*, and make her less able to defend herself against the Romish Attacks. For undoubtedly Episcopacy is the best Guard against the Romish Supremacy; and therefore the more precarious that is render'd, the greater Force and Advantage this is likely to gain; since no other Ordination but episcopal can lay any tolerable Claim to be of Apostolical Institution, and consequently to be unalterably retain'd in the Church. But Dr. *T.* was of another mind. He was for levelling the Fences of the Church; and in his great Moderation, a Virtue often abused to the Disservice of Truth,

Truth, was for surrendering it up to the Caprices of the Dissenters: Infomuch that, as Mr. B. justly expresses it, p. 407. " he was look'd upon as the
 " Head of the *Latitudinarians*, as they were then
 " styled, i. e. persons that had no great liking for
 " the Liturgy and Ceremonies, or indeed, the *Government of the Church*, but yet had attained to
 " such a Largeness and Freedom of Judgment, as
 " they could conform, tho' without any Warmth
 " or Affection for these things: And those that
 " went this way were look'd upon as the worst
 " and most dangerous Enemies of the Church of
 " *England*." It must be confess'd this is a true
 Character of these men, who, tho' they enjoy'd her
 Preferments, were never truly of her, being only
bodily within her Walls, but *in Heart and Wish* in
 the Camp of the Adversary.

On the 5th of *November* 1678, as is observed, p. 55. Dr. T. preach'd an excellent Sermon before the House of Commons, wherein he touches upon the Discovery of the Plot, and the treacherous Murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, and supposes he was murder'd by the Papists, as many other good men also did. But it is far more likely he was destroy'd by the then Faction to buoy up the pretended Plot, the Reputation of which was sinking apace, and wanted some extraordinary Event to keep up its Credit. This is certain, that *Henry Earl of Clarendon* often said, that Sir *Edmundbury* (before whom *Oates* was directed to swear to his monstrous Narrative of the Plot against the King) had own'd to his Lordship, he had no Opinion of *Oates's* Veracity, nor of the Truth of his Depositions, and that either on the Day before Sir *E. Godfrey* was first missing, or on that very Day, *Godfrey* had been again with his Lordship, and told him he, *Godfrey*, went in Danger of his Life, adding these Words:
 " But pray, my Lord, take notice, I do not say,
 " it

“ it is from the Papists.” If this poor Gentleman had not died, the Plot would soon have expired. And if we consider whose Tool *Oates* all along was, and who were his chief Friends, and most intimate Acquaintance, it is not possible for any sensible man to doubt, its being plainly calculated to raise a Rebellion against King *Charles II.*

Our Author gives no Account of Dr. *T.*'s Behaviour in the time of *Oates*'s execrable Conspiracy against the Government; how often he was wont to go to Lord *Shaftsbury*'s, who was the Fomenter and Conductor of this whole villainous Intrigue, and whose House was the Warehouse of Slanders upon the King, and all who were loyal to him; what Lords he met there, what a privileged and confiding person he was among them, how much he was in their Interests, and how true to them, and how by the help of his popular Reputation, their Stories to uphold *Oates*'s Plot found Entertainment in the world. These are things Dr. *Hickes* charges him with in his *Discourses*, p. 41. To which Bishop *B.*'s Answer was nothing but a scurrilous Reflection upon the Doctor's Person, which might be easily retorted by a like Description of his Lordship's Bulk and Features, but that I shall forbear. What the Bishop says farther is meer shuffling: “ We, says he, who lived familiarly with that great man, knew well how false this man's Accusation of him is, and how unlike it is to his true Character.” It may be so; but why then did not he disprove it, if he could? I believe his bare Surmises to the contrary will signify very little with most people. Last of all he says, “ He kept up his Credit with all wise and good men.” But alas, with great Numbers of the wisest and best men of the nation he had little or no Credit. For instance, Bishop *Fell*, that most pious, wise and learned Prelate never had any Esteem for him, on
account

account of his Latitudinarian Doctrines, from which he often foreboded the Church's and Kingdom's Ruin. And Dr. *Patrick* surely had no great Opinion of him, when he thought, he ought to be hunted out of the Christian Church. And his Pupil Mr. *B.* says, p. 406. " that his great Moderation in the points agitated between the Conformists and the Nonconformists made him become the Odium and Envy to a very great Party in our Church, i. e. all the Bishops and Churchmen, that were very high and zealous for the particular Establishments in those points." So that Bishop *B.*'s Assertion, that he kept up his Credit with all wise and good men, is absolutely false. Consequently, there is just Reason to rely upon Dr. *Hickes*'s Testimony, both for Dr. *T.*'s secret Correspondence with the turbulent *Shaftsbury*, and raising and propagating Slanders against the King; particularly that gross one laid to his charge in Discourses, p. 42. of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s being the King's legitimate Son, notwithstanding his Majesty's Declarations to the contrary.

We have in p. 61. &c. a good Account of the no small Offence, which some Assertions in Dr. *T.*'s Sermon preached before the King on the 2d of *April* 1680, gave to many both of the Church and Dissenting Communion. As Dr. *Hickes* rightly observes, it is downright Hobbism, the Purport of it being: That Ministers can't be warranted by any Pretence of Conscience to affront an established Religion, let it be what it will, and draw men off from the Profession of it, unless they be extraordinarily commission'd as the Apostles and first Evangelists were, and can justify their Commission by Miracles. A witty Lord, the Earl of *D.* standing at the King's elbow, when he spake it, said, " Sir, " Sir, do you hear Mr. *Hobbs* in the Pulpit?" Hereupon the King (for the Doctor's Honour to be sure)

sure) call'd the Lord Chamberlain and sent his Command to him to print it. Our Author has throughly confirmed Dr. *Hickes's* Account of his crying *peccavi* to the Dissenters, for whom he had always a just Value and due Tendernefs. To his Friend Mr. *Howe*, who had been Chaplain to the Protector *Oliver Cromwell*, and was now a Nonconformist Minister, he fell to *weeping freely*, and said, this was the most unhappy thing that had befallen him a long time; and that he saw what he had offer'd, was not to be defended. But when he was ask'd by the Dean of *St. Paul's*, whether he had in good Earnest cried, *peccavi*, to Mr. *Baxter*? *Pish*, replied he, will you mind what Mr. *Baxter* says? And the Dean not being satisfied with that evasive Answer, and pressing him to a categorical one, his Countenance alter'd, and he went away in Disorder without any Reply. And he was so far from condescending to give the Church any Satisfaction, that on the contrary he reprinted this Sermon in his 3d Volume. The Day before that very valuable, but greatly mislead Gentleman, the Lord *Ruffel*, was brought to the Scaffold, the Dean of *Canterbury* wrote him an excellent Letter (see p. 109.) to convince him, that it is unlawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, whether respecting Religion or Civil Rights, to take up Arms against the King; and that he was in a very great and dangerous Mistake in believing the contrary. And he tells his Lordship, "that if he will sincerely exercise a particular and deep Repentance upon the Sight of his Error by a penitent Acknowledgement of it to God and Men, he will not only obtain Forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty Scandal to the Reformed Religion." Thus he presses upon the Conscience of this dying Gentleman the Doctrine of Non-Resistance as much and as fully, as he could have done any other practical Doctrine of Christianity.

anity. Our Author gives us, p. 111. &c. a large Account of what pass'd in the Dean's Attendance upon that unfortunate Lord, and of the Motives and Circumstances of his writing that Letter. And it is remarkable, that in this Account, which was given by the Dean upon his being examined after the Revolution before a Committee of the House of Lords, he does not pretend to say that any mention was made to his Lordship of the Lawfulness of Resistance in case of a total Subversion, or that he had made any Exception of that nature in his Discourse with him. In p. 116. he subjoins some Particulars from an original Manuscript of Dr. Burnet, intitled, *An Account of all that pass'd between my Lord Russell and him.* And in this Account there is not a Word about the 'business of a total Subversion; on the other hand, Dr. B. declares, he thought that by the Ground he had gain'd in discoursing upon the subject of Resistance, it would be easy to persuade his Lordship, that it was *absolutely unlawful.* And therefore both the Dean and the Doctor press'd this point without any Exception whatsoever. And Lord R. himself would have testified this in his Speech in the following paragraph. "For my part I cannot deny, but I have
 " been of opinion, that a Free Nation like this
 " might defend their Religion and Liberties, when
 " invaded and *taken from them*, tho' under pretence
 " and colour of Law. But some eminent Divines
 " have offer'd me weighty Reasons to persuade me,
 " that Faith and Patience are the proper ways for
 " the Preservation of Religion, and the Method of
 " the Gospel is to suffer Persecution rather than to use
 " Resistance. But if I have sinned in this, I hope God
 " will not lay it to my charge, since he knows it
 " was only a Sin of Ignorance." This the two Doctors procured to be left out, not because it was not accurately true, but only because the Conclusion
 of

of it was so cold. Now here it is evident, that these two Divines did from Scripture, Law, and Reason, endeavour to their utmost to persuade his Lordship, that Resistance could in no Case, or upon any Pretence whatsoever be justified, even tho' a Prince should do all in his power to subvert the Religion and Liberty of the Nation.

As to Mr. *Echard's* Account of the Occasion of writing the Letter to my Lord *Russel*, it is so contradictory, as this Gentleman owns, p. 118. in several particulars, to the Dean's own Examination, and even to Dr. *B.*'s original Relation of the affair wrote at the very time of this Transaction, that it does not deserve the least Regard.

When Dr. *H.* in his *Discourses*, p. 35. had charged Dr. *T.* with Apostasy from his own avow'd Doctrine of Non-resistance, which he had so forcibly maintain'd in this Letter, Dr. *B.* in his *Vindication* makes this strange Apology for him, " That notwithstanding the strong and emphatical words in his Letter, he had still a *secret Reserve*, respecting the case of a total Subversion, which he believed might warrant more violent Remedies: That he even laid this before that great, and as Dr. *B.* calls him, innocent Victim: That the Dean's Letter had an eye only to his Lordship's present Case, and that the Dean thought the illegal Practices at that Time did not justify Resistance, but that the Laws both of the Gospel and of the Land did bind them in that Case to Submission: That in all that affair, the late Primate had the same Opinion, and no other than that he had to the last; only some particular *Considerations* restrained him from writing about it." Now I can't believe, that any one who compares this with the Dean's Letter can be in the least satisfied with such a Vindication of him. It is not true, that the Dean had respect to my Lord's present

present Case only, but to all Cases of Resistance whatsoever, and consequently my Lord's particular Case. And if the Letter was paraphrased with this secret *Salvo* of a total Subversion, it would make it, instead of the most rational, the most absurd and ridiculous Composition. Nothing likewise can be more manifest, than that both the Doctors took all possible pains to convince my Lord, that all manner of Resistance was absolutely unlawful: And that therefore Dr. B.'s Apology is entirely false and groundless. Besides, if nothing but a total Subversion is a lawful Cause of Resistance, the words Dr. B.'s Vind. p. 42. puts into my Lord's mouth are very just, That *then it would be too late*. For a total Subversion of the Constitution can't happen without the Destruction of the whole People, which is an impossible Supposition. Neither can it be shewn in any History, that there ever was such a thing as a total Subversion. And to say that when a King *designs* a total Subversion, he is to be resisted, this makes any factious persons Judges of his Designs, and gives them a License to rebel whenever they shall have Power to do so.

This is a Notion, that would soon raise a Spirit in the world, as Dr. T. expresses it in his famous 5th of November Sermon, "which is not only contrary to Christianity, but to the common Principles of natural Religion, and even to Humanity itself: Which by Falshood and Perfidiousness, by secret Plots and Conspiracies, or by open Sedition and Rebellion, by deposing and killing Kings, by the Ruin of their Country, and *betraying it into the hands of Foreigners*: And in a word, by dissolving all the Bonds of human Society, and subverting the Peace and Order of the World, i. e. by all the wicked Ways imaginable doth incite men to promote and advance their Religion." If then any Principle whatsoever productive of such
horrid

horrid and wicked Effects is deservedly condemned by the Doctor; there is no just Reason, I hope, to believe, that either when he preach'd that Sermon, or wrote that Letter, such an Opinion was secretly entertain'd by him. For the most consummate Jesuit could not do worse. I can't but observe that Dr. B. us'd both my Lord and the Dean very scandalously, when he most falsely told the latter, (see p. 112.) that he believed he had brought his Lordship to a Willingness to declare his Satisfaction in the point of the utter Unlawfulness of Resistance in any case whatsoever, and desired him to go to the Lord *Hallifax* to acquaint him with it, which accordingly he did: But when he came to discourse with my Lord about it, he found it quite otherwise. The Dean was much troubled at this, as well he might, because he had been the occasion of sending such a Message to the King. Hereupon he wrote this famous Letter, but without Effect. And the Dean was so offended with the Doctor for telling him this Untruth, and making a Tool of him, that, as Dr. H. in the Preface to his Discourses relates, he declared, *he would never trust a Scotchman more for his sake.* "I know no Reason, Dr. *Hickes* goes on, " he had to reflect upon his Country, which hath " been so fruitful in brave men and persons of the " greatest Honour; but however he trusted him " after this Resolution, and not only trusted him, " but let himself be too much govern'd by him " since the Revolution."

Lastly, the Dean was so far from harbouring the jesuitical Evasion of total Subversion, that to the very Moment of the Invasion he acted as if he had no such Opinion; particularly when he went to *Lambeth* about the time of the Prince of O's passing by the Kentish Coasts to bewail with his Grace the sad Condition of the Nation. " But, saith he, " my Lord, we must stick to the King, we must

"stick to our Principles; whatever the Event be,
 "we must do our Duty and leave the rest to God." And the Archbishop saying to him, "I hear, Mr.
 "Dean, your old Friend Dr. Burnet is in this mat-
 "ter; yes, my Lord, (said he with a sorrowful ac-
 "cent) "*he is deep, deep in, and will go through.*" To
 this effect the Archbishop told this Story of our
 Author's Hero, when he little thought he would
 have taken his Chair: And he either then had no
 Reserve of total Subversion, or did not think the
 Constitution was then subverted, or else dissembled
 his Opinion. And that this latter was the case, there
 is too much Reason to suspect. To give some
 Proof of which, I beg Leave here farther to ob-
 serve, that he not only assured Lord *Russel*, his
 eternal Happiness would be endanger'd, if he left
 the World in a Belief, that Resistance is lawful,
 when our Religion and civil Rights are invaded;
 but he also used these remarkable Expressions in his
 Prayer with his Lordship on the Scaffold, p. 111.
 "Grant that all we, who survive, by this and other
 "Instances of thy Providence may learn our Duty
 "to God and the King." From whence every
 one must conclude, that, if we may believe the
 Doctor, his Lordship had the Misfortune to fall
 short of it both in Principle and Practice. But in
 p. 124, we are told, "the Dean was so apprehen-
 "sive of Lady *Russel's* Displeasure at his pressing
 "his Lordship, *tho' with the best Intentions*, upon
 "that subject, that when he was first admitted to
 "her after her Lord's Death, he is said to have
 "address'd her in this manner, that he first thank-
 "ed God, and then her Ladyship for that Oppor-
 "tunity of justifying himself to her." Now it is
 much to be doubted, whether, while he justified
 himself, he also justified the Doctrine of Non-resist-
 ance, which he so earnestly press'd upon my Lord:
 And whether it is not more likely he told her La-
 dyship,

Bishop, that what he did was *with the best Intentions*,
 that is, of saving her Husband's Life, which would
 probably have been spared, if he could have been
 prevail'd on, against his Conscience, to retract his
 Opinion. But his great *Probity and constant Ab-*
horrence of Falshood hindered Mr. Dean's good In-
 tentions from taking Effect. Which indeed was
 very much for his Lordship's Honour, but not at
 all for the Dean's, who as it seems was for having
 him preserve his Life at the expence of Honesty
 and Truth. And this appears the more probable,
 because we have it related, p. 329. that upon a
 certain Occasion in 1694, his Grace drew up a
 Prayer, in which he touch'd upon the Death of that
 Lord, "whom thy holy and righteous Providence,
 says he, "permitted under a Colour of Law and
 "Justice to be unjustly cut off from the Land of
 "the Living." But, as our Author goes on, "*over*
 "these latter Words, after the first writing, he
 "drew a Line, as intending to erase them; pro-
 "bably from a Reflection, that they might be too
 "strong, or less suitable to a Prayer." Now this
 Gentleman hereby grants, that his Grace made no
 question, but that what is asserted in that Clause,
 was accurately true. And this is the more cre-
 dible, for that it does not appear he intended to
 erase it: Seeing, if he had, he would rather have
 drawn a Line *through* it, than *over* it; and by draw-
 ing a Line *over* it he seems to intend, that any one,
 who should read those Words, should take parti-
 cular Notice of them, and be thereby, instructed
 to think, that what is therein express'd were his
 real Sentiments; as there is little Reason to doubt
 they were: Which being so very contrary to what
 he outwardly profess'd at his Attendance upon my
 Lord, the *Mask* mention'd in p. 340. seems not to
 be an unfit Emblem of such a covert way of pro-
 ceeding.

It is no Wonder, that Dr. B.'s Behaviour was so unaccountable, there being too much Reason to believe he had a hand in that Conspiracy, as the following remarkable Story will testify : " Last Saturday was se'nnight April 25th, the Lady Essex sent for divers Persons of Quality, as the Duke of Beaufort and his Dutches, Earl of Bedford, Earl of Rochester, Earl of Devonshire, Mr. Hambden, and the Bishop of Sarum, &c. She told them, the Reason of her troubling them at that time was, to prevent the shedding of innocent Blood, and to vindicate her Honour against some Reflections that had been made upon her in the House of Commons for not prosecuting the Discovery of her late Lord's Murder : That she was infinitely satisfied her poor Lord fell by his own hand, and that if she had the least Reason to doubt of it, she would have spent the last Penny of her Estate in Prosecution of the Murderers : That they knew with what Affection and Tenderness they had lived, and how dear he had been to her, and therefore there could not be the least Reason to think she wanted the least degree of Tenderness for his Honour. She appeal'd to my Lord of Bedford, and to Mr. Hambden, and Sir H. Capel, telling them they all knew her Lord was concerned as far as any man in the Conspiracy, and Mr. Hambden own'd it. She applied herself especially to the Bishop of Sarum, whom she charged with the Knowledge of the Conspiracy and of her Husband's share in it, and likewise of his Design, in case of any Calamity falling upon him, to avoid it by such a practice. She pressed him so earnestly, that he desired to be excused from making any Answer : To which her Ladyship replied, that there being a mix'd Company, perhaps, it might not be agreeable to him ; but told him, he could satisfy
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“ the Earl of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Devonshire*,
 “ if he pleased in private, and to him she refer’d
 “ them. — I do not desire to be a Voucher, yet
 “ I can assure you ’tis true from divers Persons of
 “ Credit: And this Day Mr. *Penton*, Chaplain to
 “ the Earl of *Ailesbury*, told me the very story,
 “ first from the Duke and Dutchess of *Ormond*,
 “ and likewise from the Earl of *Clarendon*. ” After
 this, I believe, nobody will think it strange, that
 Dr. *B.* had such a mental Reservation, nor can re-
 frain from dropping a Tear upon the Hearse of
 that seduced young Gentleman, who had the great
 Misfortune to fall into the hands of such a Confess-
 or. Dr. *B.* then being so deeply engaged in this
 Conspiracy, he was very much in the right to fly
 for Shelter abroad.

Upon the Prince of O.’s succeeding in his Mea-
 sures against the King, and all Opposition falling
 before him, Mr. Dean once more changed his
 Principles: And he immediately became a Favour-
 ite with the new Government, extolling the Deli-
 verance to the Skies, and applauding with all the
 force of his Eloquence the Worthies that assisted
 in it; altho’ he had told the world, that neither
 the Laws would have our Liberties, nor our Reli-
 gion would have itself preserved, by the means
 those Worthies used for their Preservation. There
 was such a manifest Inconsistency between his Writ-
 ings before and since the Revolution, that great
 Numbers were extremely shock’d at his Conduct,
 and perfectly stood amazed at the sudden Change
 and sad Fall, as they thought, of one, for whom
 they had before so great a Veneration. They be-
 lieved him a man of great Integrity, and void of
 all, even Approaches to, Hypocrisy and Double-
 Dealing; When they saw him, all on a sudden
 pull off the Mask, and shew himself in his true Co-
 lours, they were tempted to question the very Truth

of Religion, and began sadly to fear, that Atheism and Impiety would continually grow upon us, and that the Pretence of preserving our Religion by means of such glaring Inconsistencies would end at length in the Destruction of Religion.

In all former Reigns ever since the Reformation, (especially in that of King *James II.*) the Clergy firmly adhered to the Doctrines of our Church, in her Articles and Homilies, and while they did so, were had in great Veneration by the People. But when several of them, of great Fame and Station, by as quick a Revolution in their Sentiments, as was that in the State, went contrary to their solemn Oaths, Subscriptions, and Declarations, and even to their own publick Writings and Discourses, no other could be expected than that their Persons, and for their sakes their very Office, should fall into Contempt, and that thereby Advantage should be given to Infidelity, if not to Atheism itself. But, if making men first Atheists is the properest method of making them the more easily Papists, as this Gentleman, p. 30. after Bishop *B.* insinuates, the Romish Emisseries must surely have had a most plentiful Harvest; and whatever be the Occasion of it, we are told on all hands of the Growth of Popery; which is not at all unlikely, since ill Things and ill Principles are even at this time of day very prevalent. This indeed there is great Reason to believe, and sadly it is to be lamented, that there are now in Proportion many more made Converts to Popery, than there were in the unhappy Reign of King *James II.* But to pretend, as this Author does, that in King *Charles II.*'s Reign a Design was laid to make men Papists by making them first Atheists is perfectly ridiculous. The Progress of Impiety and Atheism at that Time was entirely owing to the monstrous Hypocrisies and Extravagancies of the precedent time of Rebellion, when
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the most transcendent Villanies were glossed over with an hypocritical Varnish; which, being seen thro', and no longer fit to carry on the Cause, many of the Fanaticks appeared barefaced Despillers of Religion. And it is very notorious, that the whole Herd of Atheists, whether the Great or the Vulgar, were ranged under the Banner of the Faction. It is therefore altogether senseless to imagine, that the King, who was a Man of great Understanding and Penetration, would endeavour to make Men Atheists. For he knew very well, that their Duty to God and the King were inseparable; and whosoever was made an Enemy to the one, would be undoubtedly so to the other.

The Author, p. 122, being not able to reconcile Dr. T.'s Practice afterwards with his Letter to Lord *Russel*, thinks it not improbable, that neither Dr. B. nor he had then sufficiently considered the Point with so much Attention and Exactness, as the subsequent measures of that Reign, and the whole series of Conduct in the following one, necessarily led them to do. This is a very poor Excuse. For it appears, that the former had study'd the Point very exactly. And this the first Conference in his *Vindication of the Authority, &c. of the Church and State of Scotland*, printed 1673, fully testifies: As does also his Sermon upon *Rom. xiii. 5.* preached the Year following, in which are these observable Words: " Blessed be God, our Church hates and
 " condemns this Doctrine (of Resistance) from
 " what hand soever it comes, and hath established
 " the Rights and Authority of Princes on sure and
 " unalterable Foundations, enjoining an entire Obe-
 " dience to all the lawful Commands of Authority,
 " and an *absolute Submission* to that supreme Power
 " God hath put in our Sovereign's Hands. This
 " Doctrine we justly glory in; and if any that have
 " had their Baptism and Education in our Church
 " have

“ have turned Renegadoes from this, they proved no
 “ less Enemies to the Church herself, than to the civil
 “ Authority. So that their Apostasy leaves no
 “ blame on our Church. —” And about nine

Years after we find him outwardly pretending to
 persuade Lord R. to profess this very Doctrine. In-
 deed it must be confess'd this was all a Farce in him,
 For at that very time he had turn'd Renegado and
 Apostate, being an underhand encourager of the
 Rye Conspiracy. He was, long before Julian, the
 Darling and Oracle of those who were avowed Ene-
 mies to this Doctrine, was intimate with most of the
 Council of Six, and well acquainted with many of the
 Conspirators, and if that wicked Plot had succeeded
 he would, no doubt, have celebrated it as a Deli-
 verance with the highest Eulogies. So that it is
 plain, it was not out of principle, but only for the
 good end of saving my Lord's Life he teaz'd him
 to own his mistake; But my Lord had more
 Conscience than to act the Hypocrite like him.

And for Dr. T. he had also study'd the matter
 very carefully; for in his Sermon on the 5th of Nov,
 he condemns the Church of Rome, and consequently
 all others, for holding and practising the deposing
 Doctrine, and says, “ Such a Religion as this, (of
 “ which that Doctrine is a part) is as bad or worse
 “ than Infidelity and no Religion; and this is Con-
 “ viction enough to a wise Man, that this is not the
 “ true Religion, and that it cannot be from God.”
 This is his Judgment after an exact study of the
 Scriptures, upon which this Gentleman tells us he
 spent four or five Years. And we can't suppose,
 if he had not believed it to be true, so conscientious
 a Man would every time he got a new Preferment
 have openly made this Declaration, “ That it is not
 “ lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take
 “ up Arms against the King.” So that this Letter,
 one would hope, was agreeable to the full Con-
 viction

viction of his Mind after exact Consideration. The best then, that can be said for him, is, that his old Nature reviv'd, and he was seiz'd afresh with a Paroxysm of his puritanical Principles, which never left him till both his life and it were extinguish'd together. This is the only Apology I can make for him, being unwilling to believe he prevaricated, as his Brother B. did, at the time of writing this Letter, however strong Suspensions of it there may arise from his great Intimacy with the fanatical Party, and his flaming Actions afterwards, when a fit Opportunity presented itself.

To say he had not considered the Point, is to make him ignorant, that Non-resistance was the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, which no Man can affirm, with the least Appearance of Truth. He knew, that the Homilies he had subscribed expressly teach it. He knew, that all the Clergy of our Church all along maintained it, particularly in the great Rebellion against his Brethren the Presbyterians and other Sectaries, and most especially at the time of the *Rye-Conspiracy*, when that Doctrine was explained by our most eminent Divines in so clear and explicit a manner, that he never once open'd his Mouth, much less employ'd his Pen to confute it. He afterwards preached indeed and practis'd what was contrary to it, but without vouchsafing to answer any one Argument, even not so much as his own. And if the subsequent Measures of that Reign and the following necessarily led him to consider the Point with Exactness, why did not he produce his strong Reasons to prove the Lawfulness of Resistance against the then Government? Surely one would be apt to think he had nothing to offer. Nay, he was so far from having any thing to say in defence of taking up Arms, that he all along prayed, that both those Kings might vanquish and overcome all that did so. And to affirm that
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herein he acted contrary to his Judgment, what is it else but to declare him guilty of the highest Prevarication? As to King *Charles's* Measures at the time he speaks of, they were so legal and unexceptionable, that all the loyal Part of the Nation applauded them, and soon after the Revolution they stood the brunt of the severest Scrutiny, than which nothing can be a fuller and more satisfactory Justification of them.

It is beyond all doubt, that the Doctrine of Non-Resistance was at least seemingly embraced by Dr. T. till in an instant he declared himself better illuminated by the glorious Light of a successful Revolution, without which we had never heard of his renouncing Passive Obedience. But, as he says in one of his Court-Sermons, "We find by Experience, that in the issue it (Success) is the most successful of all other Arguments; and doth in a very odd, but effectual way, satisfy the Consciences of a great many, by shewing them their Interests." And thus, 'tis to be presumed, his was satisfied.

We now come to the Affair of a Comprehension, which Dr. T. with all his Might laboured to effect. And here he would insinuate, p. 165, that Archbishop *Sancroft* encouraged such a Project, that is, would have given up the Necessity of episcopal Ordination, in order to bring the Dissenters the more easily into the Church. For otherwise there can be no such thing as a Comprehension. But where does it appear, that that great and good Man had any such Design? All that this Author produces from his Articles is, his Advice to the Bishops and Clergy, to treat their dissenting Brethren with Kindness and Civility, to persuade them, if possible, to a full Compliance with our Church; or at least to unite with us in Judgment, as far as they could; to shew them that the Bishops of our Church were as irreconcilable

concilable Enemies to Popery as they were; and to exhort them to join with us in fervent Prayer for an universal blessed Union of all the reformed Churches. Now this makes nothing for the latitudinarian Scheme of blending ours with Presbyterian Orders. It only shews the good Man's Wish that the Dissenters would either come into the Church, or disagree with it as little as they could, without Heat and Rancor. And pray, who does not wish that? And as he was not for giving up to the Dissenters the essential Government and Authority of the Church, so neither was he for betraying its Doctrine to them. For in the seventh Article he directs, "That the King's Power being in his Dominions highest under God, they upon all Occasions persuade the People to Loyalty and Obedience to his Majesty in all things lawful, and to patient Submission in the rest, promoting (as far as in them lies) the public Peace and Quiet of the World." He knew very well, that the Dissenters both in the great Rebellion and ever after, as well as before, did teach Resistance. But it is evident that thro' the whole course of his Life he condemned this damnable and heretical Doctrine, as it is called in the old Oath of Allegiance. And if the Dissenters would not have come over to us in these two momentous Points, of the divine Authority of Bishops and Non-resistance, we may be sure he would not have gone over to them, as Dr. T. and his Tribe did. We are told, p. 166, from Bishop Wake, that Archbishop Sarcraft, towards the end of King James's Reign, foreseeing some such Revolution, as soon after was happily brought about, entered into a Design of making Alterations in the Liturgy, in order to gain the Dissenters. It is pretty odd Bishop Wake should say, the Archbishop did this upon a Foresight of such a Revolution. He might as well have said, he approved the Revolution, and swore Allegiance as others

others did. Can any body believe, that he laid out such a Scheme in order to get it perfected after a Revolution, which he refused to comply with? This is so manifestly false, that one would be tempted to think, that the whole Story is so too. But granting it to be true, the Archbishop might undertake and encourage such an Affair in King *James's* time, when the more moderate Dissenters, as Bishop *Wake* tells us, were (or seemed at least) generally so well satisfy'd with that Stand our Divines had made against Popery, as to express "an unusual Readiness to come in to us." This was at a time, when, tho' they were illegally tolerated, yet they were under Apprehensions that their Toleration would not be of a long Continuance; but whenever Popery had got greater Strength, they as well as the Church of *England* might be reduced to the same straits. And then it was, that we may suppose the Archbishop thought it a fit time to try what might be done to gain them, without doing any Prejudice to ourselves. Whereupon he took part of the Work himself, and employed others upon reviewing the several Parts of the Liturgy. The Design was, in short, this, as Bishop *Wake* proceeds: "To improve, and, if possible, to enforce our Discipline; to review and enlarge our Liturgy, by correcting of some things, and by adding of others; and if it should be thought adviseable by Authority, when this matter should come to be legally considered, 1st. in Convocation, then in Parliament, by having some few Ceremonies, confessed to be indifferent in their Natures, as indifferent in their Usage, so as not to be necessarily observed by those who made a Scruple of them, till they should be able to overcome either their Weaknesses or Prejudices, and be willing to comply with them."

Now allowing the truth of all this, which I must confess

confess for my part I very much question, it is not pretended that this Archbishop or his Co-assistants had any the least Thought of allowing Presbyterian Ordination, or abating any thing of the Church's Discipline, except with regard to the indifferent Use of some few Ceremonies; and these were not always to be left indifferent, but a reasonable time was to be given, till People could overcome their Scruples, which it was hoped would not be very long, the Dissenters, good Souls, he supposed to be then so very moderate. So that even upon their own telling the Story, it is apparent enough, this Indulgence was only allowed to the Scruples of the Laity, and ministerial Conformity was to stand just as it did before; otherwise instead of the Discipline's being enforced, it would have been enfeebled to a very great Degree. Then as to the Liturgy, tho' it is perfect enough already, and there is no Reason to scruple or dislike any Part of it, yet every body will grant, it may admit of Improvements, as every human Composition does. But after all, as the Archbishop and his Brethren say in their Petition to the King, the whole matter was to be considered in *Parliament and Convocation*, that is, such a Parliament and Convocation as he, whom they acknowledged to be their lawful King, should call. And it is as clear as the Day, that the Archbishop and four of his Colleagues, who joined with him in that Petition, never dreamt of any other kind of King, Convocation, or Parliament. And nothing can be more absurd than to suggest the contrary.

Now what has this to do with another quite different State of Affairs; when the Dissenters were so far from being humble and moderate, that they had extirpated Episcopacy in *Scotland*, and by their great Merits in effecting the Deliverance, having gain'd a Toleration, perfectly despised any Offers could be made them; and were not without Hopes of
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bringing upon the Church of *England* the like Calamity in which that of *Scotland* was involved. When the Archbishop and others of his Collegues, who had before so tender a Regard for them, were under a Suspension for not acknowledging the new Government: When according to the Archbishop's Opinion, there neither was Convocation or Parliament in which he could be lawfully present: And lastly, when the Terms of Union were of a different nature, it being notorious that the divine Right of Episcopacy and the Doctrine of Non-resistance were to be given up, and in effect the Church was to be surrendered into the Hands of the Presbyterians? This was the true State of the Case. But as to Archbishop *Sancroft*, he was never at the Bottom of any such Project. He thought that the best way to preserve the Church, was keeping stedfastly to the terms of it. He had as great a Tenderness and Compassion for the Seduced and Misled as any Man, and used all just and moderate Ways for their Reduction and Information: But in good truth he had not that Latitude of Principle to sacrifice the Church out of secular Intrigues and Politicks, and to deliver up the Mounds and Fences of it to a Party, which had been endeavouring the Destruction of it for a hundred Years and more, and who once had effectually ruined her. Let us now take a View of the Concessions, which this Author says, p. 182, Dr. *T.* thought would be probably made by the Church of *England* for the union of Protestants. The sixth is, "That for the future those, who have been ordained in any of the foreign Reformed-Churches, be not required to be re-ordained here, to render them capable of Preferment in this Church." This fully shews, that in Dr. *T.*'s Opinion Presbyterian Ordination is as valid as Episcopal; which is first contrary to his own Subscription. For he subscribed to the 36th Article of Religion, concerning

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Consecration of Bishops and Ministers, which by the Act of Uniformity, § 30. 31. is to be understood of the present Book; wherein it is declared, that "no Man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, &c. except he be admitted thereunto according to the Form hereafter following, or hath had formerly episcopal Consecration or Ordination." This Clause is Part of the Book, which the Doctor did by his Subscription affirm, that it hath nothing in it superstitious and ungodly. Which it would have, if Presbyterian Ordination were good. For it is superstitious and ungodly to reiterate valid Ordinations, and contrary to the common Practice of the Catholick Church, which received Hereticks and Schismatics to Communion upon their Repentance without Reordination. Witness the Arians, Melitians, Novatians, and Donatists. Secondly, It is contrary to Truth, Presbyterian Ordination being of no Validity at all. For Christ gave the Apostles the sole Power of Ordination, and they gave the like Commission to the Bishops alone, and not to mere Presbyters: And Episcopacy was the known and received Government of all the Churches in the World in the Apostolical Age, and all the succeeding Ages for fifteen hundred Years. So that even supposing the Clergy of the foreign Reformed-Churches were ordained by real Presbyters at the first, which yet I am afraid cannot be proved of several of them, particularly those of the Calvinistical Party; yet they could not have a true Mission, and being not sent, have no Authority to preach as publick Ministers, nor to administer Sacraments, &c. If therefore the French, Dutch, or Scotch Presbyters, who all belong'd to the foreign Reform'd-Churches, were admitted Priests in our Church without a true Ordination; then their sacerdotal Acts would be of no Validity and spiritual Effect

Effect or Benefit, but on the contrary would be sacrilegious Usurpations, and all that wilfully partook of their pretended Sacraments, and the Church itself, which allow'd such heinous Wickedness, would be guilty of Heresy and Schism, and cut themselves off from the Catholick and Apostolick Church, and by uniting themselves with such pretended Presbyters, but real Invaders of the Priesthood, would indeed be disunited from the Apostles and from Christ himself, and could not claim to be vital Members of that Body, of which he is the Head. This is the Truth of the matter. What Good then would the sorry political Contrivance do of getting Protestants of opposite Sentiments to join in external Communion in order the better to unite them against *France* and Popery, when this could not be done without rooting up Foundations, and in effect destroying the Mission of the Church of *England*, and making her no Church at all, or at least a very imperfect and uncatholick one, which instead of keeping out Popery, would undoubtedly give it the greatest Advantage against her.

The 7th Concession is this: " That for the future none be capable of any ecclesiastical Benefice or Preferment in the Church of *England*, that shall be ordained in the Church of *England*, otherwise than by Bishops." That is, I suppose, after the Comprehension had been fully establish'd by admitting many or some at least of the Dissenting Teachers without episcopal Ordination. For if it is not to be understood so, this Clause is quite unnecessary, that matter being already taken care of in the Ordinal. So that this is as much as to say by way of Encouragement to them: " Look ye, Gentlemen, if you will be so moderate as to comply with our Concessions, we will receive you very honourably, and give you as good Preferment as you can wish, (several good Be-

" nefices

“ nefices being now upon the point of being declared void) without putting the Hardship upon you of being episcopally ordain’d. But if you come sneakingly in afterwards, for your punishment you must expect to submit to an Ordination.” This Device one would have imagined would have wrought Wonders. But notwithstanding they knew the Minds of Dr. T. &c. and how loving they were to them, yet they stood so stiff upon their Pantofles, that they would not advance a Foot towards them.

However, if at any Time they should think fit to comply, it is somewhat for their Comfort granted: “ That those who have been ordain’d only by Presbyters, shall not be compell’d to renounce their former Ordination. But because many have and do still doubt of the Validity of such Ordination, where Episcopal Ordination may be had, and is by Law required, it shall be sufficient for such Persons to receive Ordination from a Bishop in this or the like form: *If thou art not already ordain’d, I ordain thee, &c.*” in such a manner as in the case of a doubtful Baptism. But this is still a little hard upon them. For why should they be compelled to receive an hypothetical Ordination, when they have already a real one, as good every whit as that of the foreign Reformed-Churches, who both allow their Ordination, and own them to be of the same Communion with them. For Instance, if a Presbyterian Minister should go either into *Scotland* or *Holland*, they would there be capable of Preferment and might exercise their Ministry without a new Ordination. Why then should Dr. T. and his Associates *make Fish of one*, as they say, *and Flesh of another*? And why should Dr. T. for Instance, or any other Bishop of the same Largeness of Thought, be constrain’d to give such men an hypothetical Ordination, when they have not the least

Doubt or Scruple about the Validity of that they have already? Certainly it would be perfectly ridiculous in them to say, *If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee*, when they are assured in their own mind, that they are already completely ordained. And what if many doubt of it? That will not serve their turn who are convinced of the contrary. Therefore such people can't use this or the like form without most solemn prevaricating before God. And the thing is not render'd a whit more doubtful, because they were in a place where Episcopal Ordination might be had, and is by Law required. For all the Reformed-Churches might have had Bishops, if they had taken pains to procure them. But they chose the contrary; and tho' some Bishops came over to them, yet they refused to receive Ordination from them, and did not continue a Succession of Bishops when it was in their power. If therefore this is a good Reason for an hypothetical Ordination, then the foreign Presbyters should have had the same treatment as the English. And as for being *by Law required*, every body knows, that a true Ordination is valid, whether it be according to the Laws of a Nation or not. Else how could the Ordinations during the three first Ages be valid, and how could heretical and schismatical Bishops and Priests be received in all times in their proper Characters, if the Laws of the State, which discountenanced and often were severe upon them, could make Ordinations either void or doubtful? And it is very well known that illegal Ordinations of Popish Bishops were never disputed. Either then Presbyterian Ordinations are valid in themselves or not. If not, then they ought to be renounced; if they are, then those of our own Presbyterians are as good as any other, and therefore hypothetical Ordination is a very poor Shift, and there is nothing to be said for it. Presbyterian Ordination

Ordination is evidently a quite different thing from doubtful Baptism: For here it does not appear whether the Child be indeed baptized. But in the other case the Fact of the Ordination is very manifest, and it is allow'd to be valid among the foreign Presbyterians, and therefore it must be allow'd to be valid here as well as with them; And there is no room at all for this absurd Expedient.

This was doubtless the Opinion of Archbishop T. who was in Principle and Heart a Presbyterian, and (in *voto* at least) in Communion with the foreign Churches of that Party, and consequently with the Scottish Presbyterians. No Wonder then, that as Dr. *Hickes* relates, Disc. p. 65. this *admirable Primate* was wont to advise the Scottish Episcopal Clergymen to submit to the Presbyterians and their pretended Authority, which was in effect to advise them to commit the highest act of Disobedience and Schism against their own Bishops, and to abjure Episcopacy. Had he been a Bishop in *Scotland*, there is little reason to question, but he would have acted in the same manner, as another Bishop did in that Country about fifty Years before, who basely betray'd his own Order by doing publick Penance among the Presbyterians for being a Bishop. For he would have had all the Episcopal Clergy, and consequently even the Bishops themselves, to have complied with the Scheme of owning and submitting to the Presbyterian Government of the Scottish Kirk, pursuant to an Act of Parliament made at *Edinburgh June 12, 1693*. And this appears from p. 311. of this *Life*, where two Copies of such a Test, as this Act requires, taken from his Common-place Book, are set down. From whence by the by it may justly be inferr'd, that as he was consulted by the Scotch Kirkmen in this affair, so he very probably was in every step they

took against the Bishops and their Clergy. Behold then this notable Test.

“ The Test of the Ministers, that are to be admitted, as it was first proposed.”

“ I *A. B.* do sincerely declare and promise, that I will *own and submit* to the present Presbyterian Government of the Church, as it is now by Law establish'd in this Kingdom under their Majesties *K. W. and Q. M. —*”

“ This Test *may be* mollify'd in this Form, *if it be thought fit.*”

“ I *A. B.* do sincerely declare and promise, that I will *submit* to the Presbyterian Government of the Church, as it is now by Law establish'd in this Kingdom under &c.”

Now between these two Forms there is no Difference, but that the Word, *own*, is left out: Which is in Truth no Difference, because if a Minister *submits* to a Church Government, he can't but own it to be a lawful one, even tho' at the same time he can't but know, that he is thereby dividing himself from and rebelling against the Authority of the Bishops, who alone are and can be the lawful Governors of the Church. Besides, it is to be observed, that the Archbishop is not against the first Form, wherein is the Word, *own*. He only says the Form *may be* mollify'd, *if it be thought fit*. But if this seeming Softening (for it is no better) is not thought fit, it may stand as it does without any Offence to him. And so it is likely it did. For it is provided in the Act, that every Minister shall declare that he *owns and acknowledges* Presbyterian Church Government to be the only Government of this Church, and that he will *submit* thereto.

So

So that it is very plain this Archbishop could own and submit to any sort of Church Government, that is establish'd by Law, and the Cloak and the Rochet were to him perfectly indifferent. But surely if each Nation may set up what form of Church Government they please, it stands upon a very slippery Foundation: Tho' upon a little Consideration we shall soon find that it is not of so variable a nature, and that it is a very essential part of the Christian Religion, yea so very essential, that it is not in the power of Man to alter it. For Christ having establish'd his Church as a Society, and invested it with peculiar Privileges, he must be allowed to have settled a distinct Order of persons for the governing it and for admitting Members to a Right to all those Privileges, which he has appropriated to those who belong to the Society. And if he has separated a certain Order of Men for this Office, the Apostles immediately, and the Bishops mediately by the hands of the Apostles, and has empower'd them, and such as they from time to time appoint in Subordination to them and in Communion with them, and them alone to seal his Covenants in his Name; it must needs be Sacrilege in the highest degree for any to usurp that Office without a due Call from those, whom Christ has thus appointed to convey his Authority. And God can never be obliged by the Acts of those persons, whom he never authorised to represent him, no more than a King can be bound to ratify the Acts of an Usurper. So that to alter the Government of the Church constituted by our Saviour, is nothing less than to undermine the whole Ground of our Salvation, since we can have no Title to the Benefits of the Gospel, but as we are Members of Christ's Church; and we can't pretend to be so, unless we are admitted into the Society by those whom God has entrusted with that

Power : Neither can we continue Members of this Society to any saving purpose, unless we firmly adhere to the lawful Bishops, and, notwithstanding all human Terrors whatsoever, persevere with Constancy in their Communion. Now if the Bishops alone have the Power of ordaining, and mere Presbyters by Christ's original Grant or Charter never had a Title to exercise any such Power ; then mere Presbyters can't convey Christ's Commission and Authority to govern the Church, or do any binding Acts whatever ; and therefore whatever these do without or against the Authority of the Bishops is not only unprofitable, but destructive to the Salvation of Men. If it can be shewn, that Christ or his Apostles empower'd these to ordain and to be the chief spiritual Governors in his Church ; then they, and they alone, have a divine Right to perform this Office, then the Office of Bishops, and all their Acts, are not only unnecessary, but mere Superstition in those, who hold them to be essential to Religion, as the Church of *England* doth, and an ungodly Usurpation upon the divine Rights of Presbyters, and ought to be every where cashier'd. But on the other hand, if the Bishops alone succeed the Apostles in the chief Government of the Church, if they alone have Authority from Christ and the Holy Ghost to constitute other Bishops and the other inferior Orders of the Clergy ; if it can't be shewn, either from Scripture or Antiquity, that mere Presbyters ever enjoy'd this Power ; and if it appears, that Presbyterian Ordination has been condemn'd by the primitive Church, and *Aërius* was declared an Heretic for affirming that the Office of a Bishop and a Presbyter are the same : Then it is clear to a Demonstration, that no one can without great Impiety desert their Bishops, and own and submit to Presbyterian Church Government, let it be never
so

so strongly establish'd by human Laws, which can be of no manner of Force or Authority against the Law of God, or which is the same thing, the Institution of Christ.

And now let us take a View of the Figure, which this great Bishop, the Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*, makes in the case before us. How extremely below his high Dignity does he stoop, when he so poorly sneaks to the Presbyterians? What a Blemish does it cast upon his Episcopal Character to consent to and encourage the Episcopal Clergy to own and submit to the Presbyterian Church Government, which is plainly proved that he did, both by the two Copies of the Test found in his own Hand-writing, and by his Letter to the Earl of *Portland*, p. 307. wherein he does not object to the Episcopal Ministers owning the Presbyterian Government, but to their owning it as the only Government, without any Qualification, such as this, *as the only Government of this Church, or establish'd by Law*; which Objection of his occasion'd an Alteration in the Act, that Qualification being now to be found in it? According to him then the State may set up what Church Government it pleases, and no Church Governors can have any lawful Authority, but what an Act of Parliament gives them; and thus he himself was a mere Creature of the State, and had no Authority from Christ to govern the Church. But the Apostles, and the Bishops of the primitive Church were of another Mind. They exercised their spiritual Authority even against the Commands of the persecuting Powers of the World, and planted and settled Churches every where, notwithstanding the Laws of the Empire to the contrary. And had any Bishop in those Days asserted, that it was in the power of the Roman Emperor to set up another

Church Government than theirs, they would doubtless have treated him, as such a Betrayer of his Order, such an impious *Corab* had deserved. For any to allow of Presbyterian Government in a national Church, is, as far as is in their power, to make a total Subversion of that Church, as it is a Member of the Catholick. For no Church can be a Member of the Catholick, that is, of the universal Church of all Ages, unless it be govern'd by the Apostolical, and consequently Divine, Order of Bishops, as the Catholick Church always was. And therefore, should Clergymen apostatize from the Communion of their Bishops, and go over to that of the Presbyterians, they desert the Communion of the primitive Bishops, and of the Holy Apostles, and consequently of Christ himself; and so likewise do those who allow of and approve such a heinous Crime, let them be ever so highly dignified or distinguish'd. Even tho' a Man should sit aloft in the Chair of *Canterbury*, if he be publicly known to give the Presbyterians the Right Hand of Fellowship, and to own them as the only lawful Governors in any Church, he is justly liable to the Imputation of being a Schismatick and an Heretick, and ought to be avoided as such by all sound and orthodox Christians.

Let a State by never so many Laws annul the legal Establishment of the Episcopal Government, and set up that of the Presbyterian in its stead, this does not set Men free from their Obedience due to their Bishops, which is bound upon them by the Law of God. In this and all such like cases, God is to be obey'd rather than Man; and they are to remember, that the Church, as a spiritual Society, has no Dependence at all upon the State for its Being, and was instituted by our Blessed Saviour in a capacity of subsisting for spiritual ends and to bring Men to Heaven,

Heaven, when it is distress'd, as well as when it is encouraged and supported by temporal Laws. And therefore for these salutary purposes, which cannot be brought about but in Christ's own way, that is to say, by adhering closely to the Communion of the Church, it is necessary for all Men to keep united to the Bishops; who are ordain'd by him to be his spiritual Vicegerents in it, it being undoubtedly true, that there is ordinarily no Salvation out of the Church. And therefore it is, that when Men were converted to Christianity by the Apostles, the Scripture saith, "*And the Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved.*"

We may plainly perceive by his Grace's allowing of Presbyterian Church Government that he was very well pleased with its being settled in Scotland, for the good and righteous End of establishing and continuing to us the Blessing of the Revolution. How good that End was it is not my Business to dispute. But let it be ever so good, it was but a temporal End, regarding our worldly Interests only: For every body must acknowledge we might have been good Christians without it; to say *better*, might give Offence. In the next place, he ought to have taken care, that the Means, which he had chosen to bring about this good End, were right and lawful: For a good Intention will not sanctify wicked Methods of prosecuting it; the Apostle also instructing us, that their *Damnation is just*, who say, that *we may do Evil that Good may come*. Unless therefore it can be made out, that Presbyterian Church Government is lawful, and reconcileable to the Institution of Christ, the Pretence of strengthening the hands of one Sort of Protestants against their Enemies, whether Papists or better Protestants than themselves and the like, which are matters of mere worldly Policy, will never justify either the Establishment or Approbation of it afterwards.

If

If Presbyterian Government therefore be unlawful, the Episcopal Government could not be lawfully abolish'd : And consequently, whoever thinks so, must allow, that tho' the Bishops of *Scotland* were deposed by Act of Parliament, and they and their Clergy persecuted for going on to do their Duty, in much the same cruel Treatment as the primitive Christians were by the Heathen State, yet maugre so severe a Law they still continued (as before they were) to be the true and lawful Governors of that Church according to Christ's Ordinance, and their Adversaries were only *de facto* Governors, or Usurpers. And as the Bishops and Church of *England* were in Communion with them, as Members of the same spiritual Body, while they were by Law established, so it was their Duty to continue to be so, after they were deposed by Law ; since temporal Laws in themselves can have no Effect in breaking off the mutual Correspondence between Bishops and Churches, unless there appear a good Reason, (antecedent to such Laws, either with regard to Doctrine, Worship, or essential Discipline) why it is lawful for the one Church to refuse Communion with the other.

Now nothing of this sort can with any colour of Truth be said. For the Scottish Bishops taught the very same Doctrine, perform'd the same Worship, and exercised the same Discipline after their Deposition as before, and as they had always been wont to do many Years before the Revolution, when there was an harmonious Intercourse kept up between the two Churches. Unless therefore it can be shewn that those Bishops had in any Instance so apostatized from true Religion, that Communion ought no longer to be maintain'd with them, no Bishops of the Church of *England* can justify discontinuing it, and they can't plead in excuse for themselves the Severity of persecuting Laws, much less

less can they defend the Presbyterian Usurpation, or own and join themselves to it, because it is by the same Laws establish'd.

This Author, p. 309. says, they render'd themselves universally obnoxious as the immediate Creatures of the Court of King *James*. Universally obnoxious to whom? To the Presbyterians it may be, but not to the Generality of the Scottish Nation, who being Episcopal themselves did highly honour them. As to the Words, *immediate Creatures*, I profess I don't understand them, unless he calls all such as were loyal to King *James*, before the Revolution, by that Name. And if he does, it is far from being a Reproach to them. And what if they wrote a Letter of Abhorrence of the Prince of O.'s Expedition; this was no more than what was perfectly agreeable to the Principles of both Churches, and even to those of Dr. T. himself. For if it is not lawful to take up Arms against the King upon any Pretence whatsoever, as the Authorities I have just now mention'd affirm; it is possible and easy enough too to vindicate such an Abhorrence, if the Prince of O. did really come to encourage King *James*'s Subjects to take up Arms against him, and dethrone him, as some say he did. And considering they ow'd the King both a natural and sworn Obedience, it was not much out of the way to give him the strongest Assurances of promoting, by their Instructions and Influence in all his Majesty's Subjects, an intrepid and stedfast Allegiance to him, as an essential Part of their Religion, and of the Glory of their holy Profession. For it is manifestly the Glory of our Religion to do our Duty in this respect for the Lord's sake; when the Papists on the one Hand, and the Presbyterians and their Accomplices on the other, bring a great Dishonour upon Religion by the contrary Practice. But it was the greatest Glory of their
holy

holy Profession, that they not only taught the Duty of absolute Submission to their Prince, from whom they were under no Apprehension of suffering, but also bore with incomparable Patience and Fortitude the most inhuman Cruelties which Presbyterian Tyranny could inflict upon them, for no other Crimes, but strict Loyalty to him they still thought their Sovereign, and a conscientious Adherence to Episcopacy. This will embalm their Memory, when that both of their open and more secret Enemies will be covered with Infamy. I will only make one Remark more; that before the Revolution Presbyterian Church-Government never gain'd an Establishment in *Britain*, but in times of Trouble and Rebellion; yet surely it would be no small Discredit to *K. William's* Government to say, that it could not be established without the Establishment of Presbyterian Church Government, that those *who declared themselves his Friends in Scotland, were equally zealous against the Episcopal Form of Church Government*; so that Christ's Government in the Church, and his Government in the State could not well consist together. If this had been the Case, it would have been very hard upon him, and doubtless would have occasioned many melancholy Thoughts in the Mind of *so good and pious* a Prince. But if so, it could not be helped, *it was not possible for him to preserve Episcopacy.*

But to return to his Grace. It does not appear, that, notwithstanding his great Interest with our Deliverer and his zealous Friends, he ever shewed any Inclination to persuade them not to abolish Episcopacy. Instead of that we find it confessed and demonstrated, that he was in a worthy Scheme to incite the Episcopal Clergy to go over to the Presbyterians, which at first View appears to be mightily for the Service

Service of Episcopacy, provided People can be induced to believe, that the best way to support it, is to undermine and desert it. It really can't but make the gravest Man smile to see our Author, p. 308, call his Grace's Labours to make People abandon Episcopacy and turn Presbyterians, endeavouring the Mitigation of all severe Impositions upon the Episcopal Clergy in that Kingdom. There can't well be a severer Imposition, than insisting upon a Man's renouncing his Principles, owning a Church Government he believes an Usurpation, and paying Obedience where he can't but be conscious it is not due, since by an antecedent Obligation it is due only to the Bishops. This is such a Sort of Vindication of him, as, I think, will signify little to the Purpose of clearing him from what is asserted in Mr. Creech's Memorandum, who had it from Mr. Johnson, who, whatever Faults he had, did not want Honesty: "That whatever Steps were taken, and
 " all that was done for the abolishing Episcopacy
 " and Subversion of the Church of Scotland, was
 " done by the Contrivance, Advice and Approba-
 " tion of Dr. Tillotson."

Now the Contrivance of the abovesaid Test to make the Episcopal Clergy turn Presbyterians, is very far from being inconsistent with his having a Hand in the abolishing Episcopacy. He was so zealous for the Revolution, and had so little Regard for Episcopacy, that if he could once persuade himself the one could not be brought about without demolishing the other, he would make no bones to use all his Interest to raise so glorious a Fabrick upon the Ruins of what he imagined very insignificant; and then to crown all his Labours in so good a Work, what a Pleasure, what a Triumph would it be to him to get the Episcopalians themselves to consent to their own Destruction, that Episcopacy might

might never, as far as human Cunning could prevent it, have so much as the Chance of a Resurrection. This would have been giving the *Coup de Grace*, and putting the top Stone upon the Building. Here then every thing fits very well together. He contriv'd, he advis'd, he approv'd of the abolishing Episcopacy, and to compleat the Work, he would have got the Episcopal Men themselves to join in the Contrivance, and so bring eternal Shame and Confusion upon their own Heads. This had been as clever as Heart could wish. This Author to take off all Blame from Dr. T. would gladly lay the whole Fault of their Deposition upon the *Scotch* Bishops themselves, who were so indiscreet as not to throw off their Allegiance, as others found themselves at Liberty to do, and so they deservedly suffered, without any Influence or Interposition of the Archbishop. But it is apparent they could not have been put down, if their Presbyterian Enemies had not risen in Arms, and seized the Government, and pack'd a Convention to depose them. And whether the Archbishop, who thought their Fall a necessary Preliminary for the pious Purposes then on Foot, and who we see endeavour'd all he could to increase the Presbyterian Party, by enticing and persuading the Episcopal Clergy to desert to them, might not be thought a very proper Person to consult with in the Contrivance and Execution of the Design, let any one, who carefully considers the Principles of the Man and his Conversation, impartially judge. I am sure the Argument this Gentleman uses to bring him off, is of no manner of Force. It is this: The *Scotch* Bishops adhered to their natural Sovereign, and so gave Occasion to their Enemies to fall upon them and oust them; therefore their Presbyterian Enemies, and his Grace among the rest, had no Share at all in this unhappy Business. He may as well

well say, that the *English* Bishops by adhering to the King in the grand Rebellion afforded their Enemies an Opportunity of abolishing Episcopacy in this Kingdom; therefore the Presbyterians and their Clergy did not take the Advantage of theirs and the King's Weakness, and so compass'd their Ruin by all the wicked Ways they could think of. I do not affirm the Cases were alike in every thing, but the Abolition of Episcopacy by Force can't be laid to the Charge of the Bishops in either Case, but of those who projected and counsell'd it, and put the Advice in Execution. And how deep a Hand his Grace had in the last Abolition of Prelacy, let every one determine in his own Mind, as he shall see Cause: Only let it be observed, that we find him consulted by the Master of *Stairs* in the Steps to be taken in Parliament for confirming the Presbyterian Interest: what Reason then can there be to disbelieve so trusty a Friend's being consulted in the Methods for establishing it, especially considering he was privy to all the most secret Designs then carried on, and never once open'd his Mouth, nor any way interposed with King *William*, as far as appears, to stop the outrageous Persecution of the Church of *Scotland*, nor ever was heard either publicly or privately so much as to condemn those inhuman Cruelties.

We have now had a sufficient Insight into his Grace's Notion of Episcopal Government and Ordination, and upon Enquiry we shall also find that his Spirit descended upon his immediate Successor Dr. *Tenison*, as Dr. *Richardson* in his most elegant and useful Edition of *Godwin de Præsulibus* informs us. His Words are these in his Life of *Tenison*: " There
 " yet remained one Matter of Triumph to the Re-
 " formed-Church, when a proper Opportunity
 " offer'd itself, which nevertheless our Archbishop
 " through too much Delaying, Timidity, or abun-
 " dant

“ dant and unseasonable Cautelousness, neglected :
 “ I mean the Ordination of Bishops in *Prussia* ac-
 “ cording to the Pattern of the Church of *England*;
 “ which the King of *Prussia*, as great a Patron of
 “ the Reformed-Religion as of learned Men, desir’d
 “ should be celebrated through his Dominions; and
 “ upon that Account he sent over into *England* Dr.
 “ *Ernest Grabe*, a Man famous both for Learning
 “ and Piety, to be ordained a Bishop according to
 “ the Rites of the Church of *England*. But the
 “ Archbishop was so far from readily taking hold
 “ of the Opportunity which was offered, that he
 “ managed this most momentous Affair with Cold-
 “ ness and Neglect; and by laying Difficulties and
 “ Pretences in the Way, put it off so long that at
 “ Length it came entirely to nothing.” Thus by
 this impartial Writer he stands justly stigmatiz’d to
 all Posterity: And it appears he was so like his Pre-
 decessor, that one would almost imagine he was *Ovo*
prognatus eodem, a Piece of the same Batch.

When the soundest and best Fathers and Sons of
 the Church of *England* observed what Havock was
 made of their Brethren in a neighbouring Country,
 this put them upon considering how to defend them-
 selves, if any the like Attacks should be offered
 them either by way of Force or Intrigue. They
 perceived there was a great Inclination in some, es-
 pecially in Dr. *T.* who was at the Head of the De-
 sign, to take the Dissenters into the Church, and had
 too much Reason to suspect, that instead of bringing
 them over to her, they intended to give her up to
 them. They had no Opinion of Dr. *T.* the chief
 Conductor of the Affair. They knew him, as Dr.
Sherlock (not Dr. *Jane*, as our Author supposes) tells
 us in his *Queries* about the new Commission, to be
 “ a Man who conformed with Difficulty himself,
 “ or upon Principles, which wise Men foresaw would
 “ destroy

“ destroy the Church in Time, who had Latitude
 “ to conform to a Church *de Facto*, which had
 “ Power on its Side, and to conceal his own Inclinations till it is time to shew them.” They reflected, he had passed from the Covenant to the Engagement, from thence to the Cromwellians, thence to the Restoration, and so on to the Revolution; and no doubt, if there were Occasion, from the same Unchangeableness of Principle could travel the same way back again: That he was of any Sort of Religion that was uppermost, provided it could call itself Protestant, and by any means could be established by Law, whether truly or equivocally so called; he having no regard to the Rightfulness of the Powers that made it. They saw, that the P. of O.’s Declaration to the Kingdom of *Scotland* was purely Presbyterian, and that Episcopal Government was thereupon actually destroy’d, and the Church there betrayed into the Hands of its Enemies; and they had too much Reason to suspect, that Dr. T. and his dear Friend Dr. B. who either penn’d or at least approv’d of the *Scotch* Declaration, was at the Bottom of this Tragedy. They laid all these things together, and came to a Resolution to preserve the Church of *England* from sharing in the Calamity, and resolved to unite their whole Force against any of his Attempts in the Method of Alteration of the Liturgy and Comprehension; and when a Convocation was called, and he stood to be Prolocutor, to shew that he was not the *Head of the learned Body* of the Clergy, as Bishop B. vainly calls him in his funeral Panegyrick, but only the *Head of the Latitudinarians*, as Mr. *Beardmore* says he was looked upon to be, by the greatest and best of our Bishops and Divines, to his great Disappointment Dr. *Jane* was chosen by a great Majority, who for Learning and Orthodoxy was much fitter for the Chair than
 E. he.

he. By this happy Means our Church was rescued from his cunning Machinations and unwearied Endeavours to comprehend her away, and frame her so as to come as near as possible to the *Scotish* and *Dutch* Model.

The Church of *England* allows of no Ordination, but Episcopal; but he was forward and urgent to agree to the Allowance of admitting the dissenting Teachers to Benefices without it, which must inevitably have caused a Division in the Church, and nothing could have procured a Compliance with an Alteration in such an essential Point without downright Force and Persecution. He was for leaving the antient Rites and Ceremonies indifferent, so that they might be used or not, as should be agreeable to the Inclinations and Fancies of the People: So that People might kneel or sit at the receiving of the Sacrament, as best suited their Humours, which would occasion the greatest Disorder and Confusion in the Congregation. And this was his Custom long before the Revolution. For, "as a devout Gentlewoman in that Neighbourhood assured Dr. *Hickes* (See Disc. p. 73.) his Practice was, first to walk about with the Elements to those in the Pews, where the Sitters were, but in the last place to those who kneeled at the Rail, within which he would not go, as Decency would have directed another Man; but coming behind them, he gave it them in the Letter of the Proverb, *over the left shoulder.*" So likewise the edifying, significant and primitive Ceremony of the Cross in the Office of Baptism was to be left at the like Liberty, it being a grievous Stumbling-block to the godly. Now supposing these Ceremonies not necessary, as indeed they are not, yet surely it is not very decent for People to sit upon their Breeches, when they are receiving the greatest Blessings from God by the
Hand

Hand of his Ministers: And methinks kneeling is a much more proper Posture for Prayer and Thanksgiving, and has nothing of rudeness and seeming disregard in it, of which the other indeed seems to be very expressive. If such a manner of receiving Favours from an earthly Prince would be accounted an high Incivility and Affront, I should think it less excusable, when we approach the Throne of Grace, in outward Appearance at least, to shew ourselves void of all Respect and Reverence. And for the Sign of the Cross, it is designed to signify that the Child being become a Christian by Baptism, is become a Servant of a crucified Lord and Saviour, whom it is fit he should continue to confess and obey unto his Life's End; and also to admonish the Congregation of their Duty to their Lord and Master. And why this instructive Rite, which was so frequently used on all Occasions by the primitive Christians, and is of as great Antiquity as any other Rite not mentioned in Scripture, should be disparaged and set aside, can't but be a matter of Astonishment to any reasonable Man. The Dissenters hold these Ceremonies to be not only unnecessary, but unlawful. Which is manifestly false Doctrine. For, 1st. it is contrary to the Doctrine of the primitive Church, which universally practised them. Those therefore who now separate upon this Account, do at the same time separate from the primitive and universal Church, by doing which they manifestly become Schismatics. And therefore to take them into the Church without renouncing this false Doctrine, would be receiving Schismatics into the Church, and partaking with them in their Crime; which can by no means be justified. 2^{dly}. It is affirming that to be forbidden in Scripture, which really is not so; and is as much teaching for Doctrine the Commandments of Men, as affirming

those things to be enjoined in Scripture, which really are not so. Therefore both these things are equally superstitious, and consequently no ways defensible. The Dissenters then being manifestly convicted of false Doctrine, we are not to gratify their contentious Humour by encouraging them to continue the maintaining of it; but we should endeavour to correct their Errors, and bring them over to the Truth, and then they might safely be admitted to the Church's Communion, otherwise they would do her more Hurt than Good by having an Opportunity the better to spread their Infection, and poison her Members with their false and dangerous Notions. But our Gallio *cared for none of these things*. They are Protestants, that is, not Papists, and right or wrong our Church must admit them, because certain political Considerations seemed to require it.

But, God be praised, all his and his Associates Pains in this Affair were in vain, and the Church was happily delivered from the Dangers which then threatened her. And I trust that such Attempts will always prove abortive, and neither her *candid* nor uncandid Enemies will ever be able to prevail against her. Our Author himself informs us, p. 178, that those who seemed most favourable to the Dissenters were against this Coalition. " They proceeded upon
 " a Maxim, that it was fit to keep up a strong Fac-
 " tion in Church and State, and thought it was not
 " agreeable to this to suffer so great a Body as the
 " Presbyterians to be more easy, or more inclinable
 " to the Church; and that the Toleration would be
 " best maintained, when great Numbers should
 " need it, and be concerned to preserve it." And to shew the egregious Folly of this Scheme, he tells us, p. 191, that " the original of the Alterations
 " was in the Hands of Archbishop *Tennison*, who
 " was

“ was always cautious of trusting them out of his
 “ own keeping, alledging, that if they came to be
 “ publick, they would give no Satisfaction to
 “ either Side, but be rather a Handle for mutual
 “ Reproaches; as one Side would upbraid their Bre-
 “ thren for having given up so much, while the
 “ other would justify their Non-conformity, be-
 “ cause those Concessions were too little.” Un-
 happy Project, that could not please or content
 either Party! As for the Presbyterians, they never
 declared their willingness to come in, but on the
 contrary were averse to the Church’s Communion:
 Nor ever will the Case be otherwise, unless Episco-
 pacy be given up to them, and the whole Govern-
 ment of the Church is in their Hands. It is there-
 fore perfectly ridiculous to treat or endeavour an
 Union with them, because there is no Probability of
 preserving thereby the Unity of the Church, as long
 as they profess to own no common Principles of
 Unity with us, which may still oblige them to re-
 main in the Church’s Communion. Unless they ac-
 knowledge our Bishops to be the Principles of Unity,
 and that it is necessary for every one intending to
 continue a Member of the Catholic Church to be
 united in their Communion, we can have no Se-
 curity they will remain ours any longer, than their
 Interest shews them their Duty.

And thus, as this destructive Enterprize deser-
 vedly miss’d of Success, I shall omit speaking to
 the other trifling Particulars, which were not worth
 the while to make such a Clutter about: I shall only
 mention one Article more, *viz.* that relating to the
Atbanasian Creed, to which his Grace seems to have
 had a very great Aversion. In p. 343, writing to
 Bishop *Burnet* about his Exposition of the Articles,
 he has these Words: “ The Account given of *Atba-*
 “ *nasius*’s Creed seems to me no wile satisfactory.

“ I wish we were well rid of it.” I can’t imagine why he should be angry at this excellent Epitome of the Christian Faith, unless it be, that he did not like the Doctrine contained in it. But how came he then to subscribe and use it so often as he did? If he did not approve of the Terms, why did he stretch his Conscience so frequently for obtaining his many Preferments? If he had honestly followed his own Judgment, it would have been much better both for himself and the Church.

It could not be, that he wanted to be rid of the damnatory Clauses. For if the Faith contained in the Creed be all true, nothing more is declared in these Clauses, than in those Words of our blessed Saviour, *Mark xvi. 16. He that believeth not shall be damned.* And now, as this *without doubt* is a true Saying, so this must be as true, “ Except a Man
“ keep the Catholic Faith whole and undefiled,
“ *without doubt* he shall perish everlastingly;” unless it can be shewn, that this Sentence and that of our Lord’s are not exactly of the same Import; which is impossible, except it can at the same time be proved, that the Faith of the Creed is false, and not the true saving Faith of the Gospel. The Faith contain’d in the Creed, is in short this: “ That
“ there are three distinct co-eternal and co-equal
“ Persons in the one Substance of the Godhead:
“ That the Father is the Head and Fountain of the
“ Divinity, the Son is eternally begotten of the Father, and the Holy Ghost eternally proceeds
“ from both: That the Son assum’d human Nature,
“ and so united both Natures in one Person: That
“ he suffered for our Salvation, descended into
“ Hell, rose again the third Day, ascended into
“ Heaven, sitteth at the Father’s Right Hand,
“ shall judge the Quick and Dead: That all Men
“ shall then rise again, and they that have done
“ Good

“ Good shall go into Life everlasting, and they that
 “ have done Evil into everlasting Fire.” Now it
 must be all, or some or other of the Articles, which
 his Grace believed not to be true ; otherwise he had
 no reason to wish to be well rid of this Creed. So
 vehement an Expression can mean nothing else, un-
 less he could be so absurd as to imagine Men shall
 only be damned for their Sins, and not for their
 Unbelief. If so, then there was no Necessity for our
 Saviour’s coming into the World to make Satis-
 faction to God for our Sins, then the holy Scripture
 doth not truly set out unto us that it is only the
 Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby Men must
 be saved, then without the Assistance of divine
 Grace we may keep the Law of God, then he is not
 accursed that shall presume to say, every Man shall
 be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so
 that he be diligent to frame his Life according to
 the Light of Nature. At this Rate it is enough to
 be a Moralist, and not a Christian ; and thus the
 whole Christian Religion is in effect overturned.
 ’Tis true his Grace in his four Sermons, which he
 printed to clear himself from Socinianism, declares, p.
 120. “ That there are three *Differences* in the
 “ Deity, which the Scripture speaks of by the Names
 “ of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and every
 “ where speaks of them as we use to do of three
 “ distinct Persons : And therefore he sees no Rea-
 “ son, why in this Argument we should nicely
 “ abstain from using the Word *Person* ; tho’ he re-
 “ members that St. *Jerom* does somewhere desire to
 “ be excused from it.” This shews indeed some-
 what of Unwillingness to use the Word, and if he
 could, would be pleased to be excused from doing
 it, as he says St. *Jerom* desired to be, tho’ without
 Grounds, there being no Words of that Father’s,
 from whence any such Desire can be collected. He

also says, p. 121, that " the most incommunicable Properties and Perfections of the Deity are in Scripture frequently ascribed to the Son and Holy Ghost; one Property only excepted, which is peculiar to the Father as he is the Principle and Fountain of the Deity, that he is of himself, and of no other; which is not, nor can't be said of the Son and Holy Ghost." This is a little oddly expressed. For there are no Perfections of the divine Nature which are not in Scripture ascribed equally to all the three Persons. And as for the Father's being the Fountain, that is no Perfection of the divine Nature, but only a personal Property belonging to Him, which expresses a Relation of Order and Mode of Existence, and not a difference in any essential Perfection. For as the Son of a Man has all the Essentials of a Man equally with his Father, in like manner has the Son of God equally the same essential Attributes with the Father; and as the one is perfect Man as well as the other, so is the other perfect God. Therefore the Father's begetting, the Son being begotten, and the Holy Ghost proceeding, shew only a Distinction of Persons, not a Difference of Perfections, Nature, or Godhead. It was wrong therefore in his Grace to make the Paternity, or the Father's being the Fountain of the Godhead one of the incommunicable Properties and Perfections of the Deity or divine Essence. For if it be, then the Son and Holy Ghost, who have not this Property or Perfection, as he calls it, can't be truly and properly possess'd of the divine Essence, from which its Properties can't be separated without destroying the Essence itself. Again, if being the Fountain of the Deity be one of the essential Perfections of it, then the divine Nature in the Father is not the same as the divine Nature in the Son, the one being unoriginate, the other derived; Then also

also the three Persons are not co-equal in all essential Perfections. And if this was the Archbishop's Belief, as it here seems, it will not be strange, that the *Albanasian* Creed was a great Eye-fore to him. However, in many Places he asserts that the Son of God was not a Creature, as p. 26, " That he was
 " before all Creatures, and therefore he himself
 " could not be a Creature, unless he could be before
 " himself." p. 38. " He made all Creatures
 " without Exception, and consequently he himself
 " is not a Creature, because it is evidently impossi-
 " ble any thing should make itself." Then as to
 the Co-eternity, p. 16, he affirms, " That before
 " his Incarnation he was from all Eternity with God,
 " Partaker of his divine Nature and Glory." And
 p. 41, " This *Word* was from all Eternity: For if
 " he was in the Beginning, *i. e.* before any thing
 " was made, he must of Necessity always have been;
 " because whatever is, must have either been some
 " time made, or must always have been; for that
 " which was not, and afterwards is, must be made.
 " And this will likewise follow from his being said
 " to be God, and that in the most strict and proper
 " Sense, which doth necessarily imply his Eternity,
 " because God cannot begin to be, but must of
 " Necessity always have been." He was therefore
 necessarily and eternally existent, and always partak-
 ing of the divine Nature. All which is very ortho-
 dox, and perfectly agreeable with the Creed.

He likewise very well explains the Catholic Doc-
 trine of the Incarnation, in this manner: He that is
 God in the most strict and proper Sense, God by
 Nature, became Man: " He assum'd, p. 147, the
 " whole human Nature, that is, a human Soul
 " united to a real and natural Body: And as the
 " Soul and Body united make one Person, and yet
 " retain their distinct Natures and Properties; so
 " may

“ may we conceive the divine and human Natures
 “ in Christ to be united into one Person; and this
 “ without any Change or Confusion of the two Na-
 “ tures.” Which is a very just Account of the
 Faith in this Particular.

But if he sincerely believed the Truth of his own
 Doctrine, he should have taken Care not to have
 delivered any thing, which is plainly inconsistent
 with it, as he most certainly does, when in his
 fourth Sermon he assigns most pitiful and ridiculous
 Reasons for this gracious Dispensation, which instead
 of establishing it tend directly to subvert it. But
 before he begins he roundly asserts the No-necessity
 of the Incarnation, and declares, “ That God could
 “ without all this Circumstance and Condescension
 “ have done the Business, for which his Son came
 “ into the World and appeared in our Nature, that
 “ is, could have given the same Laws to Mankind,
 “ and have offered to us the Forgiveness of our
 “ Sins and eternal Life upon our Repentance for
 “ Sins past, and a sincere Endeavour of Obedience
 “ for the future.” This is a Concession, which the
 Socinians and Infidels would be very thankful for.
 They will easily say, if it was needless, it was con-
 sequently very unbecoming the divine Wisdom to
 take such an operose Method of saving Mankind,
 when a more compendious Way would do: If there
 was no Occasion for the Divine Word to unite him-
 self to human Nature, that he might lead a misera-
 ble Life, and at last undergo a painful Death, it
 seems very inconsistent with Reason to imagine he
 did so. For why should so glorious a Person hum-
 ble himself so low, why should so innocent a Person
 bear such great Afflictions and such exquisite Tor-
 ments, if there were not something both in the Na-
 ture of God and in the Condition of Man that made
 such an Atonement requisite? We have no Reason

to think, that God could have brought about our Salvation by any other Way, because this is the only Way, which he has revealed to us. The best Way of knowing what God can do in such a Case, is to know what he has done, which we may see in the Revelation he has made to us. And I can't but believe, that it is great Presumption and Boldness in any Man to affirm, that God could do any thing so suitable to his Wisdom, as that is, which his divine Scriptures have clearly made known to us. For as his Love to us is infinitely great, there can be no doubt, but this Love suggested and decreed the best and the only Method for this salutary Purpose.

But his Grace is of another Mind, and does not believe there was any Necessity for our Lord's Incarnation in order to satisfy the divine Justice: And he musters up some better and more curious Reasons, which never any Man but himself found out before. . He tells us, there were certain gross and erroneous Notions very prevalent in the World, and in Condescension to the Weakness, Superstition and Folly of Mankind, and to make these Notions as harmless as possible, God sent his Son into the World. For Instance, p. 188, the World was much given to admire Mysteries: The *Jews* had theirs, and the Gentiles likewise had theirs, some of which latter were very odd and *phantastical, or very lewd and impure, or very inhuman and cruel, and every way unworthy of the Deity.* However, since all the World were so foolish as to think they could not be without Mysteries, therefore God in Compliance with their fond and gross Apprehensions, gave them the great Mystery of the Christian Religion, *God manifested in the Flesh.* If they must have Mysteries here is one for them indeed; which is the sharpest Ridicule upon the Mystery of the Incarnation, that can possibly be. Another such Notion among Man-kind

kind was, that it was proper to have a visible and sensible Deity to worship; and to take Men off from this, God was pleased to appear in our Nature, that they might have one to whom they might pay divine Worship without Danger of Idolatry. As if God intended to frame his Religion after the Devil's Pattern. Another inveterate Prejudice there was concerning the Expiation of the Sins of Men by Sacrifice, which he can't well tell, how it came to be so universally entertained: And God was pleased so far to comply with this unaccountable Opinion, as once for all to have a general Atonement made for the Sins of the World by the Sacrifice of his only Son. But as to the Patriarchal and Jewish Sacrifices, which were instituted by God to be Types of the grand Sacrifice upon the Cross, Christ, when he came, fulfilled them. And it is a false and dangerous Notion to imagine, that God was pleased to comply with the idolatrous Corruptions of the Heathen in this Matter: For this supposes, that if there had not been any such Sacrifices among them, Christ's own Oblation would never have been made in Compliance with and Imitation of them. Another very common Notion among the Heathen was, their idolatrous canonizing of famous and eminent Persons. Now to take off Men, saith his Grace, from this Kind of Idolatry, behold one in our Nature exalted to the Right Hand of God. As if because the Heathen us'd this kind of religious Worship, therefore this gave the Hint to God to institute the like. 'Tis true the Worship of our Saviour did put an End to the idolatrous Worship of the Gentiles, but God's Intention of sending his Son was not to comply with any such erroneous and corrupt Opinion. Lastly, the World was mightily bent upon having Mediators between the Gods and them, and this his Grace ascribes to their Superstition.

tion. But if this Notion was in itself superstitious, then it is superstitious to appoint any Mediator at all, and God therefore could not comply with this sinful Apprehension, how common soever. It is therefore absurd to say that he did so. But the Notion of a Mediator, as such, is no superstitious Conceit, being as antient as the Fall of Man, when a Mediator was promised by God in order to his Recovery. So that it is a gross and absurd Conception to say, that God appointed the true Mediator in Imitation of the heathen false Mediators; whereas the contrary is true, that the Heathens appointed their Mediators, because they still retained the true Notion of the Necessity of a Mediator, which had been handed down to them by Tradition from *Adam*, altho' they had forgot the Original of the Tradition, and had greatly corrupted it.

I have thus considered his Grace's Reasons for the Incarnation, *viz.* God's great Condescensions to, and Compliances with, the foolish and wicked Conceits of Men, and have sufficiently shewn that they are as foolish and wicked Apprehensions, as any of those he has mentioned, and therefore it is impossible such egregious Folly can be a Ground and Reason for a Dispensation which Wisdom itself has contrived; and, if I am not very much mistaken, he by assigning such Reasons has, as much as in him lay, subverted it. For if the Incarnation of Christ is built upon this false Foundation, this failing, that must fall of Course, and then he has preached against Socinianism to a very fine Purpose. It is impossible, one would think, but a Man of his Sense must see, that he has betrayed the Christian Cause into the Enemy's Hands. By his Reasons, which never came into any Man's Head but his own, he has manifestly burlesqu'd the Doctrine of the Incarnation, and consequently the holy Scriptures, from
whence

whence he has endeavoured to prove it. And if he has made the Incarnation ridiculous and absurd, then the WORD in his secret Opinion did not assume human Nature; then also the Doctrine of the Trinity, which he pretends to approve, and upon which the Incarnation is founded, must be false too: For take away one Link, and the whole Chain of the Christian Faith must be broken in Pieces. No Body then will admire, that he should be for getting rid of that excellent Creed, by which it is so firmly established.

He no where insists upon the true Reason of this saving Mystery of God incarnate, that is to say, the absolute Necessity of making a full, perfect, and sufficient Satisfaction for the Sins of the whole World, both original and actual. He only says, p. 211, as it were by the by, that by the Death of Christ "is a Provision made for the Expiation and Forgiveness of our Sins, in a way very *honourable* to the Justice of God and Authority of his Laws." But he does not endeavour to prove, nor does he so much as affirm, that the Sacrifice of the God-man was necessary for making an adequate Satisfaction to the divine Justice. No, it seems God only sent his Son to be an expiatory Sacrifice in Compliance with the weak and gross Apprehensions, which the Jews and Heathens had about expiatory Sacrifices: which is so far from being a solid and necessary Reason, that it is apparently dishonourable to God. For what can reflect more upon his Honour and Majesty than to be contented to give up the dearly-beloved of his Soul upon any such bale and wretched Account? Nay, he is so far from any where asserting this essential Truth, that like a true Socinian he plainly declares against it; as I have already shewn.

But to set the Necessity of the Doctrine of the Satisfaction made by Christ in a true Light, let it be con-

considered, that it is not possible for any Creature to merit for himself or for the Atonement of his own Sins, much more of the Sins of the whole World: Neither can any Creature for becoming Mediator between God and Man, and for offering a Sacrifice for Sin be entitled to Worship and Adoration, which can be due to God only. If God might accept for Satisfaction the Sacrifice of a Creature, if he thought fit, then why might he not accept, if he pleased, the Blood of Bulls or Goats? But the Apostle tells us, *it is not possible the Blood of Bulls and Goats should take away Sins*; which Words resolve the Satisfaction not merely into God's Acceptance, but into the intrinsic Value of the Sacrifice. And since no Creature can have any Stock of Merit to spare for other Creatures, the Divinity of him that made the Satisfaction is necessarily inferred. Wherefore the Scripture assures us, it was *Jehovah* that was pierced; it was God *that purchased the Church with his own Blood*. And it is clearly reveal'd to us, both that Christ is properly God, and that he hath aton'd for us, and therefore none but he who is God as well as Man could satisfy for us; whoever therefore denies the Necessity of a divine Person's making this Satisfaction, does at the same Time deny the Necessity of the Incarnation of the Son of God, these two things being clearly reciprocal. If therefore a divine Person has not satisfied for us, neither was he incarnate, and then our Faith is vain, and we are yet in our Sins. The Doctrine then of Satisfaction is a fundamental Point, and since he has denied it, he in plain Consequence has denied the whole Faith.

Because Mr. *Lesley* wrote some very just and unanswerable Remarks upon his Grace's Sermons upon the Trinity and Incarnation, our Author, p. 324, is pleased to shew himself a little angry with him, and speaks of him in a very slight and undervaluing Manner.

Manner. He was indeed a *voluminous polemical Writer*, as he scornfully calls him. But that only shews Mr. L.'s great Zeal for Truth, and indefatigable Industry to defend it against all its Enemies, for which he is highly to be commended. His many excellent Books, in which he did very great and good Offices to the common Faith, shew him to be an Author of the first Rank, and will be read by all Lovers of true Religion, being written with great Strength and Clearness, and easy to be understood even by the meanest Capacity. What this Gentleman calls a Vein of Scurrility, which is no other than a just Satyr upon the Adversaries of the Christian Religion, and of the known Doctrines of the Church of *England*; and whoever reads his incomparable Writings, will see throughout a Series of strong and irrefragable Arguments, which give full Satisfaction to all Men of sound Judgment, however disgustful they may be to Persons of ill Principles inveterately rooted in them, because they are not able to confute them. I don't wonder at Bishop *Burnet's* endeavouring to blemish his Memory with slanderous Untruths, nor at this Gentleman's delighting to spread them. Every body knows, what Pains Mr. L. took to prevent the Mischiefs which might flow from his Lordship's plausible Writings by clearly laying open to the World the Fallacies and Poison of them, and answering them without a Possibility of a Reply. This was a Crime in him not to be forgiven: And so, but not with any Scurrility to be sure, his Lordship is pleased in his most partial History to do all he can to blacken him, which he durst not have attempted had his Book been published when his worthy and honest Adversary was alive and in a Capacity to vindicate himself. The Bishop out of good will to his old and fast Friend sets it down, That Mr. L. *is said* to have been

been the first who began the War in *Ireland* against King *James*. Why did not he tell who said it, that we might have judg'd of the Credibility of the Report? Perhaps it was the * *Observator* or *Review*, or some of those veracious Authors. I am sure no body could say with any Colour of Truth, that he set up the deposing Principles, or took up Arms himself, or encouraged others to do so. It is not unlikely indeed, that he did his Duty as other learned Divines did, in opposing King *James* so far as justifying the Principles of the Church of *England* against those of *Rome*, with all his Might. But that he began the Rebellion, or as the Bishop calls it, the War in *Ireland*, this Gentleman cannot prove, and if he cannot, then never let him pretend to condemn any Man for Scurrility for the Time to come.

I have already shewn, that the Doctrine of Satisfaction is built upon the Doctrine of the Trinity, and the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ. And indeed there was an absolute Need of such Atonement, for that fal'n Man could not otherwise be rescu'd from eternal Damnation. For *Adam* our Representative, by transgressing the Covenant God made with him in Paradise, did both for himself and his Posterity forfeit all Title to eternal Happiness, and made himself and us liable to everlasting Punishment. God withdrew his Grace from Man,

* In Answer to the *Observator's* scandalous Aspersions, Mr. *Leslie* says, " That he *opposed* the late King *James* (as some then counted it) so far as justifying the *Principles* of the Church of *England* against those of *Rome*, with all his Might, for which he was taken Notice of, reprimanded, and run Hazards, at that Time, when the *Dissenters* were very civil and silent upon the Point of Religion. But that he set not up *deposing Principles*, nor meddled with Arms. For which of these has the *Observator* made him a Papist?" *Rehearsal*, N^o. 90, Vol. II. 12mo. p. 130. Edit. Lond. 1750.

Nature was entirely deprav'd, and being divested of the divine Assistance could not but sin. All Men therefore are by Nature born in Sin, and must of Necessity be the Children of Wrath. Consequently if God in his infinite Mercy had not provided a Remedy for this desperate Evil, we must have been undone for ever. It was impossible for sinful Man to do any thing towards it. Therefore if it was to be done at all, it was necessary for God himself to contrive the Cure: Which he of his unbounded Goodness did, by sending his own Son to redeem us from the Slavery of Sin, and the eternal Punishment of it by the all-sufficient Sacrifice of himself. By the complete Merit of this, and full Satisfaction to his Justice, God was reconcil'd to Man upon the Condition of Faith and Repentance, our Nature is renewed, we become a new Creature, the Image and Similitude of God is restored in us; the divine Spirit, and with him both the Father and the Son abiding in us, and bestowing upon us by the Power of his Grace the Ability both to will and to do what is good, that thereby we may attain eternal Life, and avoid eternal Death, which must inevitably have been our Portion, since without this Sacrifice of Redemption, we could not possibly help being at Enmity with God for ever. Since therefore Christ's Satisfaction was necessary to deliver us from the Fire that never shall be quenched, it can't be denied, but that the one is included in the very Notion of the other, and that if the Torments of Hell had not been eternal, there had been no Necessity for Christ's Expiation.

It is to be consider'd also, that our Lord was a Teacher come from God, and not only threaten'd, but taught and declared the Eternity of Punishment. And therefore if God cannot lie, he cannot abate or relax them without impeaching his Veracity,

Veracity, as well as acting inconsistently with his Justice. We believe also that Christ will come to judge the World in Righteousness; and it is absurd to suppose, that he who of his unspeakable Love endured so much to redeem Mankind, who is our best Friend and Benefactor, and our most compassionate Advocate, would as our Judge pass such a dreadful Sentence upon the impenitent, if the Punishment were not adequate to the Crime, if their Impenitence and Torment were not equally endless. It is a known Truth, *Nulla est exomologesis apud inferos*, Repentance only takes place during our Time of Trial in this World, and is impossible in the next. Therefore since without Holiness no Man can see the Lord, and it cannot be that the finally Impenitent can ever be restored to a state of Purity, he shall doubtless be cast out from the Presence of the Lord into outer Darkness for ever. He has deserted Christ, and listed himself under the Banner of the Devil, and with him and his Angels shall be tortured with everlasting Fire.

So that it is evident the Belief of the Eternity of future Punishment is a fundamental Point of the Christian Religion, and necessarily following from its most essential Doctrines, and therefore he that denies, or even disputes this Article, as his Grace does in his Discourse upon this Subject printed in the 4th Volume of his Sermons, can't be looked upon in any other Light, than as one who wounds the very Vitals of Religion, and goes about to overthrow the whole Christian Scheme. Is it not true then that Dr. *Hickes* did no more than give it its deserved Title, when he called it a *wretched Sermon*? And indeed I think every good Christian that reads it, can't but be exceedingly shock'd at the Notions contain'd in it, which attack the Foundation of the Faith, and by weakening the Sanc-

tions of the divine Law do greatly affect the Christian Life. Dr. *Hickes* therefore is not to be blamed for shewing a just Indignation against the Venom of such pestilential Doctrine, by which the wicked and the profane are encouraged not to despair: For as the Serpent said, *Ye shall not surely die*; in like manner saith his Grace, “God may remit and abate as much as he pleases of the Punishment that he hath threatened — For notwithstanding his Threatnings he hath reserved Power enough in his own hands to do Right to all his Perfections: So that we may rest assured, that he will judge the World in Righteousness; and if it be any-wise inconsistent either with his Righteousness or Goodness, which he knows much better than we do, to make Sinners miserable for ever, that he will not do it; nor is it credible, that he would threaten Sinners with a Punishment which he could not justly execute upon them, a Misery so terribly severe, that at present we can hardly tell how to reconcile it with the Justice and Goodness of God.” Where it is sufficiently intimated, that God is too good to inflict such a dreadful Punishment for merely temporary Faults, that bear no Proportion to it: As if sinful Habits continually persisted in and ending in everlasting Impenitence, did not deserve most justly eternal Vengeance; and as if then Men with the utmost Ingratitude despise God’s Grace and Goodness manifested to them in Christ, they can lay any Claim to God’s Mercy, which they have so wickedly and unthankfully abused.

And now let us observe, who are the persons, that seconded his Grace in defending this heretical Opinion. The first our Author mentions is *Le Clerc*, a noted Socinian, and Mr. *Whiston* a profess’d Arian. The person from whom his Grace borrow’d his

his Notion, was *Episcopus*, one who had the like favourable Judgment of the Socinians as himself; and who, tho' he pretended to assert the Truth of the eternal Generation of the Son; yet denied it to be necessary to Salvation, and disallow'd of the Anathema pronounced by the Council of *Nice* against those who patronize such Heresies as the present Arians and Socinians teach. But now if the divine Generation before all Ages is a thing perfectly indifferent, and may be held or not as every Man is inclined; then the Catholick Church in all Ages has been in the wrong in casting those out of Communion who did not believe it, and thereby shewing they esteem'd it a Fundamental, as Bishop *Bull* has unanswerably proved they thought it, against this very *Episcopus*: Then also the Doctrine of a proper Satisfaction must be indifferent; and while it is admitted in Words or in Name, the Thing itself is denied: Then also the whole Christian Religion as such, that is, as distinguish'd from mere natural Religion, is not necessary to Salvation, and Socinianism stands upon as saving a Bottom as the most orthodox Faith. And this appears very plainly to have been his Grace's Sentiment. For, as this Author assures us, p. 321: " He never express'd afterwards the least Coldness to Mr. *Firmin* on account of the Answer to " his *four Sermons*, to whom he had before declared upon the Publication of them, that he was " obliged by the Calumnies of People to publish " them; and that what he now printed was what " he thought at the Time of preaching them, and " continued to think; but that no false Imputations " should provoke him to give ill Language to persons who dissented conscientiously and for weighty " Reasons; which he knew well to be the case of " the Socinians, for whose Learning and Dexterity

“ he should always have a Respect, as well as for
 “ their Sincerity and Exemplariness.” Thus we
 see what a Force he put upon himself to declare any
 Thing at all against these Enemies of Christianity,
 and how he soothes and compliments these his dear
 Friends, whom he would not be provoked to pass
 a hard, tho’ just, Censure upon, and would rather
 hazard his being thought heterodox himself, than
 declare them effectually to be so. And we per-
 ceive he not only acknowledged their Reasons to
 be weighty, but also favour’d them too much by
 submitting to them in a good measure, tho’ he did
 not treat upon these Subjects in so gross a manner,
 but handled them in a more smooth and delicate
 way, but so as his Opinion about them sufficient-
 ly appears. And by this means Socinianism will
 insinuate itself more easily, tho’ perhaps less sen-
 sibly, into the Minds of his Readers, who are not
 aware of his Subtilties, and of the artful Touches of
 his Pen.

To conclude this Point. Since he could not
 sincerely believe the true Faith of the Trinity and
 Incarnation, because he denied the clear Conse-
 quence of it, the Doctrine of Satisfaction, contain-
 ed in these Words in the Athanasian Creed, *Who*
suffer’d for our Salvation, which he says he came to
 do, not out of any Necessity, but out of Compli-
 ance only with Men’s weak, erroneous and super-
 stitious Notions: Since likewise he could not sted-
 fastly and without all Doubt believe, “ That they
 “ that have done evil shall go into everlasting
 “ Fire:” It is by no means strange, he should be
 an Enemy to this Catholick Form of sound Words,
 and should not chuse to condemn himself by de-
 claring, that except a Man believe it faithfully he
 cannot be saved; altho’ this is nothing more in
 effect, than such a Declaration as our Blessed Lord
 himself,

himself; and the Catholick Church has all along made against the Disbelievers of the Christian Doctrine, which was design'd as an eminent Act of Charity to them, to shew them their Danger, and by such a friendly Admonition and Reproof to stir them up to bethink themselves of Repentance and correcting their heinous Errors, which, if persisted in, would fatally terminate in their eternal Ruin.

And here let me observe, that when Dr. *Hickes* charged Dr. *Tillotson* with a total Subversion of the Gospel, by citing some Passages out of two of his Sermons, of which that on *Hell-Torments* was one, Bishop. *Burnet* Vind. p. 92, made a very faint and frivolous Answer. He says the Dr. aggravated every thing beyond its true Sense. But how does that appear? And why did not his Lordship prove it, by shewing what was indeed the true Sense? People, I am afraid, will say he would have done it if he could. And methinks the Bishop might very justly have been called to an Account for his Meaning, who had the Fortitude to say, "I am, perhaps, not of the same Opinion with him in every thing in these Sermons." 'Tis a Pity he had not explained himself, and told us wherein he differed from him. But upon second Thoughts I believe he could not. For he says only, *Perhaps* I am not: And any other Man may say, perhaps he is of the same Opinion with him. This is an odd Sort of Vindication, that not only does not clear the Person accused, but also intimates that he himself entertains the same dangerous Errors. After this he adds, "Divines may differ in their Apprehensions of things, but good Men can bear with one another." But I hope Divines are not to differ in their Apprehensions of Fundamentals. Divines, for Instance, are not to teach, that though Christ both as a Doctor, Lawgiver and Judge hath

declared Hell-Torments to be eternal, yet that God is free to remit and abate as much as he pleaseth of them, and after all his Threatnings may do as he pleases. When Divines come to this Degree of Error, as to intimate Abatements and Non-execution of Hell-Torments, where they confess the Revelation itself cannot be imagined to intimate any such Abatements; then they must no longer be borne with, but ought both for their own and others Sake to be roundly reprov'd and censur'd. But this our Author will call *Venom*, as the Bishop does, and say it deserves no Answer: Which is very convenient to affirm, when an Answer cannot readily be given.

This puts me in mind to take Notice of what our Author says, p. 345, concerning Bishop *Burnet's* Vindication of himself against Dr. *Hickes*, which he is pleased to call a *strong* and *clear* Answer to the latter's Discourses. But in Reply I take the Liberty to aver, that if any impartial Man will compare these two Pieces together, he will find, that the Bishop's Performance is very imperfect and trifling, and will soon perceive how shuffling and unjust his Reflections are, and that they really vindicate the Doctor much more than they do himself. And I can't but say, had they been made by any other Hand, I should have thought the greatest Part of them had been written with a Design to expose him. For no Man of Sense and Letters could have written worse for him, no Novice in Controversy could have made a weaker Defence against such a home Charge, excepting some Figures of popular Eloquence and his Dexterity in laying on false Colours, which it is no difficult Task to take off, as I have done in some few Instances already. It is a great Pity the worthy Doctor did not publish his Reply to the Bishop's Book, which 'tis to be feared after so long a Time
may

may now be irrecoverably lost. But tho' our Author will not believe he ever made any such Reply, yet most People who remember any thing of Mr. *Bedford*, (who he tells us was the Editor of the Hereditary Right, &c.) will most readily give Credit to his Testimony about it, that Gentleman being known by Men of all Ranks and Parties to be a Person of clear Integrity and Honour; especially too when he sets down his Attestation in the Preface to a Book, printed in 1714, above a Year before Dr. *H.* died, and consequently what he says was with the Doctor's Privity and Allowance. The words are these: " I am sensible what Respect is due to the Character he now bears, and that his Lordship is now under the Protection of a certain Statute; which Privilege if out of his great Generosity he would please to wave, he might perhaps from the same Hand see a Reply to *the Bishop of Sarum's Vindication*; which tho' it were easy to write without transgressing the strictest Duty of one Christian to another, or that Respect which is due to his venerable Character, yet there might be some Danger in Expressions otherwise most innocent, of incurring the Penalty of that Statute." This I can't but look upon as the Doctor's own Acknowledgement and Declaration, that there was such a Reply. And besides the Reason here given, one may imagine from the Nature of the Subject there might also be others which hindered the Publication. For tho' the Doctor was indeed sufficiently bold and courageous in a good Cause, as he believed the exposing Men of such ill Principles to be, who being in high Stations might by their corrupting Doctrine and Example have a very dangerous Influence upon the People, yet he was far from being a rash Writer: He therefore, as is very probable, thought he had done what was abundantly sufficient to detect and unmask

unmask these two Persons, and shew them in their true Colours, and might fairly trust the Reader to satisfy himself by comparing the two Books, and by reflecting upon the very different Characters of the Writers, whether his Representation of those Persons was not very true and exact, notwithstanding what his Lordship, whose Fame for Veracity was not very great, could affirm to the contrary.

In the same Page he complains of the Acrimony of Dr. *Hicks's* Discourses, which Bishop *B.* entitles *Virulence of Style, Venom, Gall, Malice, &c.* But he could not have been true to the Rules of Oratory, or write with Justness and Propriety on such a Subject, if he had not writ sharply: And it is not want of Temper, or Ill-nature, or venting of evil Passions, or a Disposition to defame that made him write in this severe manner, but a calm and rational conforming of his Style to his Subject, and to the Rules of true and manly Eloquence, which require that a Man's Style should be more or less gentle or satyirical, as the Occasion requires. In this manner did our blessed Saviour himself lay open the Hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees, and the holy Apostles the false Apostles and deceitful Workers in their Days, and it was the uniform Practice of the best and most holy Writers in the primitive times to say all defaming Truths against Hereticks and Schismatics. For Instance, *Eusebius H. E.* lib. 5. c. 13. cites an Excerpt out of *Rhodon*, a famous ecclesiastical Writer, wherein he calls *Marcion* the *Pontick Wolf*: And how would the Bishop of *Sarum* have flounc'd, what Exclamations would he have made, if after this Example the Doctor had presumed to call him a *Scotish Bear*? If Bishop *B.* had not canonized Dr. *T.* at his Funeral, and proposed him as an Example of heroic Piety and Virtue to Posterity, and if he had not raked in Archbishop *Sancroft's*
Grave

Grave and cast Reflections on his surviving Brethren, I am persuaded the Doctor would not have disturb'd his Quiet; but since he did without any known Repentance of his Crimes, or any Retractation of his pestilential Doctrines; and after all he was solemnly recommended as a noble and sublime Pattern both to Church and State: I suppose the Doctor was satisfy'd, he might with a safe Conscience take the undeserved Glory from that Picture which the Bishop drew of him, and set him forth to the World in his natural Colours.

But perhaps this was owing to private Resentment, says our Author; the Doctor being persuaded, that both Dr. T. and Dr. B. had prevailed with the Earl of *Hallifax* to oppose his Promotion to the Deanery of *Worcester*, and if that could not be hindered, to make it the Condition of his Preferment, that he should quit his Benefices in *London*, in which the King disappointed both the Earl and them by rejecting that Condition.

It will not be thought strange, that these two Doctors used all their Interest to get him out of the City. He had exasperated them exceedingly by publishing several Discourses, whereby he exposed to publick View the wicked Principles and Practices of their Sectarian Confederates, particularly, *Ravillac Redivivus, being a Narrative of Mitchel's Trial*, and *the Spirit of Popery speaking out of the Mouths of fanatical Protestants*; to which is subjoined, a *Narrative of the Murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews*; Which horrid Fact, as we are told in p. 156. of Vol. VI. of the *General Dictionary historical, &c.*

“ was so misrepresented by the Faction in both
 “ Kingdoms, and particularly at *London* by Dr. G.
 “ *Burnet*, that Dr. H. desired Leave of his Grace
 “ (the Duke of *Lauderdale*) to write the true Nar-
 “ rative of it from the Records of the Privy Coun-
 “ cil, as they were sent up by Order to his Grace.
 “ It

" It was no sooner published, but all those lying
 " Reports were silenced, tho' the Dispersers of
 " them were not ashamed." Another of his re-
 markable Books was entitled *Jovian, or an Answer*
to Julian the Apostate. The General Dictionary says,
 that " this excellent Answer in Defence of passive
 " Obedience the Doctor wrote at the Desire of Arch-
 " bishop *Sanctroft*, tho' many artful Endeavours
 " were used with him from other Hands to prevent
 " the writing of it: particularly by Dr. *John Willi-*
 " *ams* of the *Poultry*, since Bishop of *Chichester*, an
 " Enemy to the Doctrine of Non-resistance," but
 withal an intimate Friend and Crony of Dr. *Tillotson's*,
 who probably enough sent him upon this goodly
 Errand. They also plainly saw he set himself, as
 he thought his Duty obliged him, to preach to his
 own Flock, and where else he was called, against the
 Designs these two were underhand carrying on; and
 labour'd earnestly to free the Citizens from the fan-
 tical Prejudices which they had long infused into
 them with their utmost Diligence, and to fix in the
 Minds of the People, as he did with great Success,
 such sound Principles of Loyalty and Religion as
 would make them firm and steady to the Interest
 both of Church and State, which they by all possi-
 ble Arts and Cunning, in Concert with the factious
 Party, were contriving to undermine. It galled
 them to the quick to find their destructive Schemes
 with so much Fortitude and Strength of Reason tra-
 versed, and in a way to be entirely defeated, their
 Reputation and Credit with the People sinking, and
 that of their learned and honest Adversary, who was
 well acquainted with their pernicious Designs, rising
 upon their Ruin. They therefore left no Stone un-
 turned to get rid of him, but the King knew his
 Merit, and resolved not to part with a Man who was
 both able and desirous to serve him, and watchful
 to

to observe the Motions and frustrate all the Efforts of his Majesty's Enemies. The Doctor knew these two Divines perfectly well, and therefore when the one made a Saint of the other, it was very fit some body should unconsecrate him again, and who could be more proper than the *Discourser*, who knew so thoroughly the History of them both? And this he did not out of any supposed Resentment, which was too low a Motive to work upon his generous Mind, but out of a true Zeal for the good of his Country and the Salvation of Mens Souls, that they might not be endanger'd by the Contagion of such Examples.

Upon mentioning Dr. *Hickes's* Piece in Defence of the Thebæan Legion, he in the same Page says, it is a Story which few Critics now would undertake to maintain. If he will please to peruse what the Doctor has said upon it, perhaps he may be of another Mind. And Bishop *Burnet* says, *Vind.* p. 54. "For ought I know, there is not one learned Man now in the World that supports that Story, since *Lactantius's* Book, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, has been published." And yet it is certain there are several, and particularly one, whom he would doubtless grant was a very learned Man, that has supported it, and who was a much better Judge of Books and of Consequences than he was; and that is Bishop *Stillingfleet*, who in his *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 71, has these Words: "The Circumstances of which Story are so agreeable in all Respects, that I can see no Reason to call in question the Truth of it," and then he cites several Authorities; among which, I think, might have been mention'd these Lines in *Prudentius*, *Psyc hom.* v. 36.

"*Exultat victrix Legio, quam mille coactam*

"*Martyribus regina fides animarat in hostem.*"

Which as seems to me cannot be understood of any thing else, since we don't read

read of any other Legion which suffered all together. And Dr. H. p. 11 of the said Piece, assures us, that to his certain Knowledge the Occasion of Dr. *Stillingfleet's* writing this, was Dr. *Burnet's* talking so much at that time against the Credibility of this Story.

But here it is to be noted, that Dr. H. *Disc.* p. 11, declares, *He is unconcerned whether it be Truth or Fiction*; and in his Piece in Defence of it, p. 4, he says, "The Sons of the Church of *England* need not be concerned whether it be true or false, because the History of the Dioclesian Persecution, and of others that happened before and after it, abundantly confirms the Doctrine of Non-resistance without the Thebæan Legion: Nor would I have given myself the Trouble of this Vindication, had Dr. B. wrote against it with that Modesty which was due to so received a Story; and with that Guard and Caution, that other learned Men would have shewn to the primitive Doctrine of Non-resistance." All that the Doctor contended for, was its being unreasonable to give it up, so long as it could be fairly defended: And this he has done, by clearly confuting all *Burnet's* frivolous Objections against it in his Preface to *Lactantius*. It was not therefore very becoming a Man of Mr. *Fortin's* Modesty causelessly to ridicule one of the greatest Ornaments of his Country, by scoffingly saying in his *Remarks on Eccl. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 331, "Hickes would have called any Man an Atheist for deriding this Story." But what Reason had he to insult him thus? Did he call even *Burnet* an Atheist for staging it as a copious and incredible Legend, tho' upon Reasons so weak and silly as would not bear examining? As to the ingenious Gentleman's own flirt at it, I suppose he only designed it for a Jest, to divert those of his Readers who are merrily disposed.

disposed. I shall therefore at present only take Notice, that the Story contains nothing but what was agreeable to Christian Practice, upon Principles maintained in those times as well in the Camp as in the Country, Towns, Cities, and even at Court itself, as this Gentleman so well vers'd in Antiquity cannot but know.

In p. 209, he, after Bishop B. brings a Charge against the Non-swearing Clergy, which is most injurious and false: That they hop'd and wish'd the Alterations in the Liturgy might have been made by the Convocation, that they might have been furnish'd with more specious Pretences for a Separation.

For the Archbishop and Bishops of that Communion did not separate at all from the Church of *England*, either in Doctrine, Worship, or Government, but strictly adhered to her in every Particular; and by so doing continued, as they were firmly persuaded, to be the true Church of *England*, when they saw themselves deserted by those who they thought had depraved the true Doctrine and Worship of the Church, and changed its Government by setting up opposite Bishops and Altars, and thereby made an unjustifiable Separation.

They greatly lamented that they had, they imagined, already too many just Reasons to keep up a Communion distinct from that of their complying Brethren, for whom notwithstanding they always preserv'd a high Regard and Compassion; and they had no occasion for any specious Pretences for what fore against their wills they were compelled to do. Theirs, if it may be called a Separation, was merely passive, while Archbishop T.'s and Bishop B.'s, &c. was notoriously active. It is therefore a Calumny to assert, they hop'd and wish'd for the Alterations, since they did all they could to put a Stop to such a dan-

dangerous Project; and they used their strongest Interest and the best Arguments they could think of with the more orthodox Part of the complying Clergy, who never betray'd their Order, and were against comprehending away the Church, and retain'd a very tender Respect for their old Brethren, and wished they might come again to Communion with them. And this they would have had more Sense than to have done, if they, as is here slanderously reported, had looked out sharp for any Pretences at all whereon to ground their supposed Separation. It would I am sure have grieved them exceedingly to see those Changes made in the Liturgy, which they could not agree to, or use for very forcible Reasons; one was, that in their Judgment the Act of Uniformity was still obligatory to them.

In a Letter to a certain Nobleman Dean *T.* p. 153, " thanks God he has lived to have his last Desire in " this World, which was this happy Revolution; " and now he cares for no more but to see it " established." He had, it seems, long desired to see this glorious Turn of Affairs, which no doubt he knew was for many Years together carrying on, of which Design Mr. *Justell* told Dr. *H.* when at *Paris*, as early as about the Year 1674. (See *Gen. Dictionary Hist. & Crit.* Vol. VI. p. 153.) This Design was long managing between the inveterate Enemies of the King and Monarchy in *Holland* and the disaffected Party in *England*, of whom the Dean was notoriously one, notwithstanding his Letter to my Lord *R.* He wished well to all the Plots against the Government, particularly the pretended Popish and the real *Rye* Conspiracy; both which (as now no unprejudiced Person of Sense questions) were fomented from abroad to bring about what was at length effected in 1688. But then if he had so great a Longing for this happy Thing, what Excuse can be made

made for so long a Prevarication with God and Man both in his solemn Oaths and Prayers, also for those Kings and the Royal Family, whose Extirpation he inwardly desired at least, if not secretly, as much as lay in his Power, promoted? It but ill becomes such Men to rail at the Jesuits for their mental Reservations and their wicked Doctrines, who are themselves equally guilty with them of these horrid Crimes, if not more than they. Mr. *Beardmore*, p. 412, informs us, how much he was chagrined at the Discovery and Defeat of the *Rye Plot*. "This made the Town very uneasy to him, and therefore he bought a House at *Edmonton*, whither he might retire, which accordingly he did for the last Part of King *Charles II*'s Reign, and the short Reign of King *James*, which we may easily understand were become adverse and opposite to him." And if they were opposite to him, we may suppose he was the same to them, wishing heartily at *Edmonton* for the Revolution, all the time he openly prayed in the Church for the two royal Brothers successively, the Prince of *Wales*, &c. which every body must own, sets his Probity and Virtue in a very conspicuous Light.

Dr. *Hickes* in *Disc.* p. 62, tells us, that Dr. *T.* was often wont to declare his firm Resolution never to be a Bishop, and that one of those, who were put into the Places of depriv'd Bishops, had, to the Doctor's certain Knowledge, vehemently declared against taking the Places of the depriv'd. The Doctor meant Dr. *Edward Fowler*. This Bishop *B. Vind.* p. 113, calls Tattle, and will not believe a Word of it: But does not know Particulars so well as to be able to confute them. Now our Author has clearly justified Dr. *H.* in this Particular, For, p. 152, Dr. *T.* earnestly begs of a certain Lord, to defend him from a Bishoprick. And upon King *William's* having

communicated to him his Intention of making him Archbishop, he uses these Words in a Letter to Lady Russell, p. 223. " This hath brought me into
 " a real Difficulty. For on the one Hand, it is
 " hard to decline his Majesty's Commands, and
 " much harder yet to stand out against so much
 " Goodness, as his Majesty is pleased to use to-
 " wards me: On the other, I can neither bring
 " my Inclination nor my Judgment to it. This
 " I owe to the Bishop of *Salisbury*, one of the worst
 " and best Friends I know. Best for his singular
 " good Opinion of me: And the worst for direct-
 " ing the King to this Method, which I know he
 " did, as if his Lordship and I had concerted the Mat-
 " ter, how to finish this foolish Piece of Dissimulation,
 " in running away from a Bishoprick to catch an Arch-
 " bishoprick. This fine Device has thrown me so far
 " into the Briars, that without his Majesty's great
 " Goodness, I shall never get off without a scratch'd
 " Face." Here we have Dr. T. himself confessing,
 that he had declared against taking a Bishoprick, and
 that Bishop B. knew he had done so; and moreover,
 that the Bishop to bring him off, had, like a good
 Casuist, put him in a clever way of not breaking his
 Resolution: For tho' he could not take a Bishop-
 rick, yet this did not at all hinder him from accept-
 ing an Archbishoprick, which was no Part of his
 Resolution. Is it not then evident that the Bishop
 knew his dear Friend had made this self-denying
 Resolution? And yet he has the Conscience to say,
 he will not believe a Word of it. Will any body
 believe a Word which such a Mortal says, after it is
 thus unanswerably made out, he could not but be
 conscious he was writing a Falshood? As to King
William's courting Mr. Dean so long and strenuously
 to take Possession of *Lambeth*, and the latter's Coy-
 ness in doing it, I shall forbear to say any thing, only
 that

that after a great apparent Reluctance at least he at last broke thro' *one of the greatest Resolutions of his Life*, as he himself expresses it, p. 243. And having done so, he, p. 248, " thanks God he is more chearful than he expected, and comforts himself as he can with this Hope, that the Providence of God, to which he has submitted his own Will in this Matter, will graciously assist him to discharge in some measure the Duty he hath called him to." And thus, as Dr. H. pertinently observes, " when Men make such Resolutions, they make them it seems with a tacit Reserve to the persisting Call of a King: and that they look upon his persisting in his Intentions as the Call and Voice of God, dispensing not only with their former most deliberate Resolutions, but also with all the fundamental Laws of Ecclesiastical Unity to the contrary, the Examples of the best and purest Ages, and the Canons of the Church."

In p. 247, he says, " he begg'd of King *William* that he would not make him a Wedge to drive out the present Archbishop: That some time before he was nominated, his Majesty would be pleased to declare in Council, that since his Lenity had not had any better Effect, he would wait no more, but would dispose of their Places. This he told him he humbly desir'd, that he might not be thought to do any thing harsh, or which might reflect upon him; for now that his Majesty had thought fit to advance him to this Station, his Reputation was become his Interest. He said, he was sensible of it, and thought it reasonable to do as he desired." He did not care to be the Wedge himself, and so he cunningly got his Patron to be so: And with the Help of the Lawyers found out the Method of a Writ of Intrusion, which did the Business effectually. He could not help, as Dr.

H. tells us, *Disc.* p. 52, “ expressing his Joy un-
 “ awares to Dr. *Beveridge* for this glorious Device of
 “ a Writ of Intrusion, thinking the Doctor had
 “ come to talk with him, as one that had accepted
 “ the Bishoprick of *Wells*; but when he found that
 “ he came to excuse himself from the Acceptance of
 “ it, he turned pale upon reflecting he had disco-
 “ vered too much.” And yet this is the Man that
 did not care to be a Wedge to drive out the present
 Archbishop. He thought he had made King *Wil-*
liam the Wedge, but that King knew very well
 that the Dean was really such; and no hypocritical
 Covering could hinder every body from seeing it.
 He not only wedged him out, but fell very short of
 a generous Example, which he had himself propos’d
 for Imitation in his funeral Sermon upon Dr. *Whitch-*
cott. Now Dr. *Whitchcott* possessed an Headship of
 a College in *Cambridge*, from which Dr. *Collins* was
 wrongfully ejected in the times of the long Rebel-
 lion. All the time that Dr. *Whitchcott* had this Place,
 a Share of the common Dividend was allowed to
 Dr. *Collins*, as if he had been still Provost: And in
 his last Will he left to his Nephew, Sir *John Collins*,
 a Legacy of 100*l*. Now a Man of such an heroick
 Virtue, as Bishop *B.* made Dr. *T.* should have fol-
 lowed such a generous Example of his own propo-
 sing. But instead of that, he got Archbishop *S.* ex-
 cluded from his Place by Violence, never so much
 as offering any Allowance, nor leaving his Nephew
 any Legacy, tho’ for keeping Possession for his
 Uncle against him he let him be imprison’d and
 fin’d, which he might have hindered, if he would.
 This is Dr. *H.*’s Charge upon him, *Disc.* p. 51, 52.
 Now hear what Bishop. *B.* says to this, p. 95, 101.
 That Archbishop *S.* was far from being in want,
 having carried a good Estate with him out of *Lam-*
beth, and that therefore there was no Reason Dr. *T.*
 should

should follow Dr. *Whitchcott's* Example. If he means that the Archbishop carried out of *Lambeth* a good Estate which he had got there; this is not true; for the Estate he retir'd to at *Fresingfield* in *Suffolk*, was the antient Estate and Residence of his Ancestors for above 300 Years, and that but a small one neither. But had it been larger, this is nothing to the Purpose. For Dr. *Collins* was not in want, when Dr. *Whitchcott* allowed him his Share of the Dividend, and *Sir John*, his Nephew, had a good Estate, when he left him a Legacy of 100*l*. He farther excuses his Hero, for that he had exhausted himself, and spent a considerable Estate in *Lambeth*. But admitting this for Truth, he might have left the less for Mr. *Sancroft*, with a respectful Declaration, that he was sorry he could leave him no more; and even so without Prejudice to his Executor he might have decently followed a brave Pattern of his own proposing, and not have had his Memory blotted for commending that in others, which he would not do himself. I can't but here take some Notice of the great Difference which Bishop *B.* makes between these two Archbishops. He is confident Dr. *Sancroft* is in Heaven, p. 95, and has no Design to lessen him in any Respect. Tho' if one compare the Coldness of that Expression of his *being in Heaven*, with that more lofty one he uses of Dr. *T.'s* being a *blessed Saint there*, one can't but think it a lessening of him, and that he would not have us think, that he is in Dr. *T.'s* Orb, nor a Saint of his Rank. The one is in Heaven, the other is a blessed Saint there: The one shines in Glory like the Sun, but the other is there only as a lesser Star, among the inferior Order of Saints, who deserves not the Honour to be registered in the Diptychs, or shine in the Calendar of the Church. No Man can think otherwise of his Intention, when he considers the detract-

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ing

ing Manner in which he examines his Deportment after the Revolution, for no End but to defame him. But as Repentance makes blessed Saints as well as Innocence; so tho' we know nothing of Dr. T.'s special Repentance, yet I am willing to hope as much as I can, that he repented before he died. And if our Author knows any thing of his particular Penitence, he is bound in Justice to his Memory to let the World also know it, that we may have as strong Presumptions of his Blessedness as the Bishop seems to have. Our Author, p. 330, after Bishop B. tells a Story of the Archbishop's sending Mr. Wharton, his Chaplain, (unless, saith he, he went in his Name without Order) to Mr. Tillet, the Register, to send the Commission, which he had granted to the Bishop of *London* and all the Bishops of his Province, to execute his metropolitical Authority during Pleasure; and, saith the Bishop, " This " was not only the violating of Registers, but was " a plain robbing of me of that Writing upon which " the Canonicalness of my Consecration, and my " legal Right to the Bishoprick was founded." This his Lordship calls a *black Scene*, and indeed so it was, if the Archbishop had sent for it with a Design to rob the Registry of it, and him of the Testimony of a canonical Consecration. But if he neither did, nor could send for it with such an Intention, then it must be left to the Reader to think what Name he deserves for fixing so foul a Charge on the venerable Name of so great and good a Man, and on so innocent a Fact. It is very true he sent for the Commission for the Satisfaction of some of his Brethren, who desired to see it, that they might upon their own Authority confute some false Reports about it, one whereof was that it was a particular Commission to consecrate him. While it was in his Grace's Custody he died; and this Bishop being

being jealous it was taken from the Office with a Design against him, gave the Register Notice, (by the Advice of Archbishop T. p. 331.) that if he did not recover it, he would call him into Chancery to declare what was become of it. I believe few Archbishops of *Canterbury* ever died without Papers and Instruments of public Concern in their keeping: Witness the many original Papers and Instruments of Archbishop *Crammer*, sold by Sir *William Hickman* to Mr. *Chiswell*, out of which his Memoirs were compil'd. Nay, there is nothing more ordinary than to find such original Papers in the Archives of Men, who have been in public Stations; witness the noble Collection of Sir *R. Cotton*, which contains so many Originals of that kind. But that his Grace had no Design of suppressing this Record, or robbing him of it to affect his Consecration, is plain from this: That he had no Temptation to do it, and that it was inconsistent with the Wisdom as well as the Integrity of that great Man. First, he had no Temptation to suppress it, being a Commission in the ordinary Form, such as was customary as well as lawful for the Archbishops to grant, and it was fortified with the usual Clauses of doing all things according to the Law and Statutes of this Realm, and of administering the customary Oaths, which were requisite to be administered by the Laws of this Kingdom, and of doing all other things, which by the Laws and Statutes of *England* were necessary to be done. So that if the Bishops who consecrated Dr. *B.* did not perform their Part consistently with the Laws and Statutes made by just and lawful, and not by an usurped Power, it became their own Act, and not the Archbishop's. Secondly, a Design of suppressing it to undermine the Doctor's Consecration had been to no Purpose, because the Tenor of it might have been proved in Chancery by the Oaths of

Mr. *Tillet*, and of the Bishops who consecrated him; and this Proof of the Tenor of it would at any time have proved the Canonicalness of his Consecration as effectually as the Commission itself. Thirdly, this Commission was granted before the time of Suspension, with a general Eye to all Occasions: And the Right Reverend Sir *Jonathan Trelawney* and Dr. *Humphreys* had the Benefit of it, as well as the Dr. the former having been translated to *Exeter* in *April*, and the latter consecrated by Virtue of it in *June*, 1689. And I dare say it never entered into the Hearts of either of those generous Persons to think the Archbishop had a Design of suppressing this Record in Prejudice either of him or them. But because no Entreaties could persuade his Grace to obey the Precept for his Consecration, or so much as let him come into his Presence, therefore he pursu'd his Memory with Slander. And because his Chaplain, Mr. *Wharton*, wrote a Specimen of some Errors and Defects in his History of the Reformation, under the Name of *Anthony Harmar*, he could not tell the Story without reflecting upon him too. Nay, under a Colour of excusing the Archbishop, he represents him as a poor thing of a Tool to the whole Party, and as an Underacter of this black Scene of his own Farce: "I look upon it, saith he, as the Injustice and Violence of the Party, by which he might be carried too easily to some thing against his own Mind." But if he was carried so easily to rob him of this Commission, how came it to be found and brought back to the Registry? Certainly the most effectual way to suppress it had been to destroy it; but since the Archbishop did not destroy it, it is plain he had no Design to rob him or the Registry of it, as he with his wonted Ingenuity would make the World believe.

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The Bishop in his Vindication speaks a great many other very spiteful things against this great and excellent Prelate, and arraigns his Conduct and that of the rest of the deprived, in a very disingenuous Manner. He would have had them made public Protests against all the Proceedings at and after the Revolution, and openly have required the Obedience of their Clergy and People, by public Acts and Instruments. But if they had done so, his Lordship would in his next Book have laugh'd at them, and call'd them a Parcel of Fools for their Pains. He would have said, what need was there of their acting thus to their own Ruin? Could they not have been quiet? Their Punishment and Incapacity of farther serving the Church is from themselves. But they must be thundering when there was no need of it; you are in Equity discharged from your Duty to them, because they have put themselves out of a Capacity of discharging their Duty towards you, against all the Rules of Christian Prudence. This, and much more, he might have said against such rash and foolish Attempts. For did any of Bishop *Ken's* Clergy adhere to him for his publicly claiming in his Cathedral their Obedience to him? And did any of the Prebendaries or Members of the Cathedral Church of *Worcester* adhere to the Dean for his claiming and requiring their Obedience? Those in Power called the Dean of *Worcester's* Protestation a Manifesto against the Government, and pursu'd him and his Friends who were Witnesses to it, as if they were worse than Thieves or Robbers. And one of the Ministers of State was pleased to say, that the Bishop who made his verbal Protestation deserv'd to be hang'd for it; and his dangerous Essay without any public Instrument was a Lecture of Caution to the rest. Even our Author himself, p. 159, acknowledges, that the Archbishop's utmost Endeav-

Endeavours would not have prevented the Settlement of the new Government. To what Purpose then would it have been to strive against the Stream, when all wise Men must see they had no other Course to take but to possess their Souls in Patience. And this is also a sufficient Answer to Archbishop *T.*'s groundless Complaint against them (mentioned p. 371.) for their actual Non-resistance to King *James*, it being evidently not in their Power to act otherwise than they did, if they had never so strong an Inclination. However one of them, Bishop *Turner*, was active enough, but to no other End than to bring himself and others into Trouble.

Our Author had little Reason to tax Dr. *Hickes*'s Book with Acrimony, and say that it is scarce to be matched among the Invectives of any Age or Language. A very negligent reading of the Bishop's pretended Vindication might have convinced him, his Lordship's satyrical Style was full as keen and severe as that which he seems so sensibly to feel the Smart of. For in these Reflections, where he professes all Calmness and Unconcern imaginable for what the Doctor had written of him, as well as Contempt of it, pretending again and again that it gave him no Disturbance, yet to turn his own Accusation upon him, he is apparently under the Dominion of Choler and Resentment from one End of his Vindication to the other, and his Pen overflows with Gall in every Page. Such impotent Words as these, *Malice, Gall, Spite, black Scene, black Malice, frantick Rage*, and the like occur continually, and are the ordinary Flowers of his Performance. But all to no Purpose. He cannot wash the Blackamore white. And the Sharpness of Dr. *H.*'s Piece lies not so much in the Expression, as in the Truth of the Charge, which he has unanswerably brought against his Lordship and his Hero. One may see him

him wriggle, as one very restless and uneasy, but at the same time perceive he cannot free himself from the Briars which torment him. He is very angry at Archbishop *Sancroft* for setting a Mark upon him, as a Man altogether unworthy of his Conversation, or even so much as once allowing him to come into his Sight. This surely was very unfortunate for the Doctor: For so wise and good a Man would never have stigmatiz'd him in such a Manner, if he had not merited from all honest Men the harshest Usage. And if this was Dr. T.'s Case too, especially when he had taken his Chair, as our Author, p. 262, says it was, the Nature of the thing, I should think, carries with it its own Apology. For what could have been the Issue of such a Meeting, but Expostulations on the one Side and Defiance on the other, let it be couched in Terms never so gentle? That ought not therefore to be esteem'd an Incivility, which was intended to prevent a flagrant Piece of Disrespect, which Dr. T. could not but be conscious he came to throw upon the Archbishop by a Message which could not in any Light be very agreeable to him. And I should think the Prince and Architect of a fatal Separation, must be a very uncomfortable Sight.

As to Archbishop *Sancroft*, he will to all future Generations be a Pattern worthy of Imitation for his Firmness in all the Changes and Revolutions of the World. He was no Weathercock, but continued the same great and excellent Man from the time of his refusing the Engagement, to his neglecting to take the Oaths to the new Government, and so to the End of his Life. He did all he could to serve both the Church and his Prince, by his Advice, his Prayers, and his Sufferings; and this made him admir'd and honour'd by his Friends and even by his Enemies too, tho' at the same time he was the
Object

Object of their Envy. Our Author rather insinuates, than asserts, he was to blame in the Affair of the Abhorrence, and his Concurrence with other Lords at *Guildball*. For he knew very well, he is effectually clear'd from all Blemish upon these Accounts by the Piece he himself has quoted in the Margin, p. 162, (which was drawn up by Dr. *William Lloyd*, Bishop of *Norwich*) and by the Author of Mr. *Kettlewell's* Life. The Story he tells about the Birth of the young Child, deserves not the least Credit. For if the Archbishop had not thoroughly believed he was the King's true Son, he had more Conscience than to pray for him in the most solemn and public Manner. Prevarication and Hypocrisy was no Part of his Character, and he would rather have suffered Death than have been guilty of such barefaced Wickedness. And to shew what was his Conviction in that Matter, he declared upon his Death-Bed, " That his Profession was real and conscientious, " and not proceeding from any sinister End ; and " that he had the very same Thoughts of the present State of Affairs, which he had at first ; and " that if the same thing was to be acted over again, " he would quit all he had in this World rather " than violate his Conscience." Then in Confirmation of this he puts up these two hearty Petitions : " That God would bless and preserve this poor " suffering Church, which by this Revolution is " almost destroy'd. That he would bless and pre- " serve the King, Queen, and Prince, and in his " due time restore them to their just and undoubted " Rights." No more need be said as to that Particular. Our Author, p. 163, has been pleased to adopt Bishop B.'s undervaluing Character of him. But how should his Lordship know any thing of him, who declares, *Vind.* p. 95, " He will not " enter into any Part of his Life to lessen him in " any

“ any Respect; no, not so far as to pretend, that
 “ he has any Materials to go upon it:” And whom
 the Archbishop, who knew him so thoroughly,
 would never so much as be seen by? And for him
 to affirm, that he was dry, cold, reserved, and
 peevish, so that none loved, and few esteemed him,
 is such a Falshood as could drop from no body’s
 Pen but his. And as his Grace was eminent in all
 Christian Virtues, both active and passive, and his
 Memory will therefore always be precious in the
 Eyes of good Men, and his Name will never be
 remembered or mentioned, but with Marks of Ho-
 nour, Esteem and Veneration: So his Lordship was
 distinguished for another Set of Qualities, and will
 be celebrated in Histories less partial than his own,
 with a kind of Encomium neither much to be en-
 vied nor desir’d. But our Author thinks, “ That
 “ upon an impartial Examination of his Conduct
 “ and Character, he will appear to have been slow,
 “ timorous, and narrow-spirited.” What he means
 by *slow*, I don’t understand, unless that he was not
 as quick and ready as others to fly in the Face of
 his Prince, and load him with Invectives: And that
 he was a Man of great Courage and inflexible Reso-
 lution, is manifest from what this Gentleman him-
 self, in the very preceding Page, says of his Firm-
 ness in refusing with six other Bishops, four of which
 afterwards refused the Oaths, to order the reading
 King *James’s* Declaration, which did him great
 Honour: To which may be added, his invincible
 Fidelity and Constancy in suffering for what he be-
 lieved a righteous Cause. By both which Instances
 he demonstrated to all the World his Resolution to
 persevere in what he judged to be the direct Path of
 Virtue, and neither swerve to the right Hand or to
 the left. And nothing can be more untrue than the
 last Part of the Character, *viz.* his being narrow-
 spirited,

spirited, which, as I take it, is the same as being covetous. For he always lived with great Hospitality, and was very remarkable for Charity and Beneficence; and if he had had any thing of Avarice in his Temper, he would have found Reasons as others did to preserve the large Revenues he was possessed of. So that there are not the least Grounds for the very mean Opinion our Author has entertain'd of him, and would gladly transmit to Posterity. For it seems the Character of Dr. T. cannot shine with any Lustre, unless Archbishop *Sancreft's* be brought as low as possible, tho' never so contrary to Truth and Justice. However, his Grace's Friends are somewhat obliged to him for affording the World, p. 316, some very excellent Paragraphs from the Letter out of *Suffolk*, giving an Account of his Grace's last Sickness and Death, written by the Rev. Mr. *Thomas Wagstaff*: Which are the more to be regarded, because both he and his Successor are therein set in a proper Light, by a Person well acquainted with the Characters of both; and any one may soon discern without setting down their Names, to whom the bright and shady Parts of the Discourse respectively belong. And I dare say, every body that knows any thing of the Men, will readily acknowledge the Justness of the Contrast.

Having thus finished my Remarks upon our Author's panegyrical Performance, with due Acknowledgments to him for his choice Materials, which, both in his own Book, and by the References in his Margin to others, he has furnished me with, I now leave the whole to the Judgment of the impartial Reader; only adding, by Way of Justification of this Discourse, the following Words of the learned and pious Mr. *Seed*, in his Sermon on *James iv. 11*. " It is no Crime to descant on the
 " Faults

" Faults of our Neighbour which are publick and
 " notorious. For where can be the Harm for any
 " Man to talk of what every one knows?—We
 " are so far from acting against the Precept of my
 " Text, that it is an Act of Charity as well as
 " Justice, to strip the Wolf of his Sheep's Cloath-
 " ing, which he has put on to make a Prey of the
 " Innocent and Unsuspecting. It is a Matter of
 " great Consequence to the Publick.—It is highly
 " necessary those should be undeceived, who repose
 " a Confidence in one that may bear a fair Char-
 " racter, but"—with more to the same Pur-
 " pose.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Author of Dr. *Tillotson's* Life having adorn'd it with an *Appendix*; to match Mr. *Beardmore's* prolix Commendation of him, it will be very proper to subjoin this excellent Letter, which has been communicated to me since the above Sheets were sent to the Press, and wherein the Reader will find a just Defence of Dr. *HICKES's Discourses* upon the two Doctors, and several Particulars besides relating to both of them, very well worth the knowing. It appears by the Letter itself, that it was written not long after the Publication of the *Discourses*, by a learned and judicious Pen.

S I R,

I Return you my hearty Thanks for the last Favour, and will be very much obliged to you, if your Kindness continue your Correspondence. As to those Discourses of Dr. *Tillotson* and Dr. *Burnet* (of which you would have my Sentiments) I have seen them, and did read them over, but have them not now by me; for I was obliged presently to return them, and so I cannot at present pass such an exact Judgment upon all Particulars.

I perceive some are very angry at all these Representations of Men and Parties, judging them very scandalous, prejudicial to Religion, and what encourageth a Contempt of it. And certainly Atheists are more forward to mock all Religion, because they see the several Parties laying Trick and Hypocrisy

crisy at one anothers Door. But we should distinguish betwixt the bitter Invectives of Ignorance, Malice and Envy, and what is done only to serve the Ends of necessary Truth, and for giving useful Information; otherwise we must censure our Lord himself, who frequently charged the Scribes and Pharisees with very severe Things. He must not be reckoned a Callumniator who shews the Wolf in the Lamb's Skin; nor yet he who points at the Devil's cloven Feet, when he transforms himself into an Angel of Light: He is a bad Man who takes Pleasure in anothers Misery, and he is yet worse who rejoices in his Neighbour's Wickedness. It is a mean thing, and favours of earthly Wisdom at the best, even to shake a false Reputation, when there is no Prejudice to Truth by it, nor any other bad Consequence attending it: But when Names are made to support dangerous Errors, to hallow unwarrantable Practices, to ensnare the Simple, and to be a Pretext to cunning, selfish and evil Men, and that these very Names are built only upon the Pride and Arrogancy of the Persons themselves, or the impudent Flattery of others, then there is a just Provocation to detect them, and Duty and Charity obligeth to it, that the Ignorant and Unwary may not be seduced, nor others find a Cloak for covering their Actions. I hope the Author has had no other End in publishing these Discourses, as indeed the Temper and Moderation which he shews all along do free him from the Suspicion of all sinistrous Design: For he doth not use Violence to force an evil Construction upon Words and Actions, as malicious Persons use to do, but relates things plainly without Passion.

Some say that the Dead should not be touched; and I am of the same Opinion, if their surviving Fame be not dangerous. Names (with the Gene-

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rality

rality of Mankind) weigh more than Reason; and the most ask no greater Evidence than that such an one hath said or done it. Dr. *Tillotson* is one of those who was had in too great Admiration: His Sermons were in the first Rank of Esteem. I hear there is 20,000*l.* given for those which were not printed before, tho' they cannot be so exact as what he himself published. What are printed are so much in Vogue among some Men, that they are accounted the true Standard; and he is esteemed the best Preacher who comes nearest that way; which insensibly hath perverted that Part of the Ministry, and introduced a kind of Preaching without the Spirit of Christianity; for instead of the Principles of Faith, and a Regard to the supreme Authority of God, upon which the Duties of Religion and Holiness are recommended in Scripture, nor can our Performance be acceptable upon any other Account; I say, instead of these, a Scheme of Morality is preached up from the Principles of human Reason, Self-love, Honour, Wealth, and worldly Ease and Interest. I do not say, all do so, but many, very many, too, too many, which must have fatal Consequences in Reference to Religion. Dr. *Tillotson* is indeed a Pattern for true Eloquence; his Words are not barbarous or obscure, his Phrases are unaffected and cleanly, and his Method and Expression clear: but give me Leave to say, that his Doctrine (if weighed) will very often be found light, his Assertions sometimes false, his Reasons specious, but a little weak, and his common Topicks more befitting a Disciple of *Seneca*, *Epietatus*, and some of those heathenish *Moralists*, than a Minister of Jesus Christ. St. *Paul* saith, if I pleased Men I should not be the Servant of Christ. But there seems to be thro' all Dr. *Tillotson's* Sermons a studied Air of pleasing Men, for he is more careful to make them palatable

palatable than true, because Flesh and Blood loves a Religion that is easy, therefore he throws the Weight of the Cross upon the Apostles and first Christians, and restrains the Precepts about it to the Beginning of the Gospel. To please incorrigible Sinners, he makes Abatements of Hell-Torments, and takes away the Fear of eternal Punishments. To please proud philosophical Wits, he levels the sublime Mysteries of the Christian Religion, and makes them all condescending not to human Weakness only, but to the superstitious Conceits of the ignorant common heathen Mob. To please the Magistrate, he makes no Mission without Miracles lawful but his, neither allows it warrantable to preach necessary Truths without his Leave. To please the People, he so oft declaimed against Popery. To please the Times, he changed as oft as they, and he always touched the Thing in Vogue. And, to please himself, he is often severe upon such as approve not his way, and endeavours to lessen their Esteem in the World. For these things he deserves the Censure of the Church: And if the Church do not pass a Censure upon his Writings, she cannot be said to maintain the Purity of Doctrine, nor yet careful to have her Children fed with the sincere Milk of the Word. I wish you to advise the Author of these Discourses, that he may take Notice of this, in case there be a new Edition of his Book. I know not how you will approve my Sentiments; and I believe the Booksellers (if they knew it) would raise no small Stir against me, as *Demetrius* did against *St. Paul*, because his Books have brought no small Gain unto them. But I tell you plainly, that I have these many Years spoke to all my Acquaintance to beware of the Leaven of *Filloison's* Doctrine, tho' I do acknowledge that he has written some very good things.

When I heard of his Promotion to the See of *Canterbury*, I was afraid of the Consequences both as to Doctrine, and the Order of Episcopacy: His Education, his secret Correspondence with the fanatic Party, his Latitudinarian Principles, and some other things, made me very apprehensive that he would prove the ruin of that apostolic and divine Order. And indeed I was told, by some who had Occasion to know the Truth of it, and whom I take to be ingenuous, that he was willing to consent to the utter abolishing of it, provided he and other present Possessors might have their Revenues, or the Equivalent, continued for Life. And also I had it from some *Scotchmen*, that he took Part with the Presbyterians in that Kingdom; for in a certain Meeting at *London* (of which he was one) appointed to hear the Complaints of the Episcopal Party, he neither defended the Order of Bishops, nor pleaded the Rights of their Clergy, nor pressed any Abatement of the Rigour and hard Usage which they met with; but was for keeping up Presbytery, according to the present Establishment, and for the Episcopal Clergy their submitting into it. Upon which a Formulor of such a Submission was drawn up, and sent down to both Parties in *Scotland*: This was like the Archbishop of the Church of *England*. He was for comprehending the Presbyterians here, but was not for comprehending the Episcopal Clergy there on other Terms than turning Presbyterians; *quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testæ diu*.

But I was yet more afraid of some Mischief to Doctrine itself, by his favouring of Socinianism. I expected that the Author of these Discourses would have fully considered the Grounds of that general Suspicion of this Error, which Dr. *Tillotson* lay under: but he hath passed it lightly over, because another hath undertaken that Province. Whatever public

public Defences he made of himself, I am certainly informed, that, in his private Conversation, he encouraged Deism and Socinianism. His intimate Friend M. *Firmin* was by him advised and assisted to the printing some Tracts and Pamphlets of that kind, for the spreading of these Opinions; which I was told by a Person of Quality, who was himself made privy to the Matter, and who had Copies sent to him, for confirming him in these Opinions, which they judged he already favoured: But whatever Liking he might have for them, he could not but hate the Hypocrisy of him who held so high and honourable, and lucrative a Post, for professing and maintaining that very Doctrine which he did not believe, and which he studied privately to undermine.

Now what shall be said of the funeral Orator, who extolls this Man to the very Skies, who exalts him above ordinary Men, and proposes him as the best Pattern for either Clergy or Laity? Did he this secretly to commend himself, who is charged with some of the same Faults? Did he not know the Man whom he professes to have known intimately; *intus et a cute*? Or to give an Essay of the Strength of his Invention and the Force of his Eloquence, by which he could make one of common Passions and Infirmities pass for an extraordinary perfect Man, and so blind Peoples Eyes that they might not see the Blots in his Life, but take them for Beauties and Virtues worthy of Imitation. This is not the first false Character he has imposed upon the World. I was once in Company with an ingenious Countryman of his, who was very severe upon *Gilbert*, as he called him, for a certain Character he had imposed on the World; he said no less than that his Ears should be cropt for it, being conscious that every Line of it was a Lie: And he added, that he

had himself told him as much. The funeral Orator is like the common Poets when they write Epitaphs, whose main Design is to please the surviving Friends, and to set off their own Wit and Fancy, rather than to speak just and true things of the Dead. He is as a Painter who would draw a pleasant Picture, tho' it should resemble no Person. The first thing that he did of this kind, was a Character of one Sir *Robert Fletcher*. I have seen it; from Beginning to End it is stuffed with most nauseous Pedantry. And besides, I am told by some of that Country who knew the Man, that it was a Description of some foolish Hero *Gilbert* had in his Fancy, and so far disagreeable to the Person for whom he designed it, that the Friends of that Gentleman could never be reconciled to him for doing so great an Injury to his Memory. In like manner his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* was chiefly written to ingratiate himself with that noble Family; and therefore instead of giving the World an exact and true History of those Times, he only writes what might commend these great Persons: And even here he has succeeded so ill, that he has both confirmed and increased the Suspicion Men had of Duke —, by a total Concealment of his Letters, which (if published) would have both attested the Ingenuity of the Historian, and also perhaps cleared the Duke of many things for which he is now blamed. All the World knew that King *Charles I.* did warrant and authorize the Duke to do what he did; but what they wanted to know, was the Counsel which the Duke gave the King, which being industriously, but not wisely concealed by the Historian, it occasions many to suspect the worst, and entertain Jealousies of his betraying the King. Such an unhappy Vindicator is Dr. *Burnet*. As Shadows set off the Beauty of a Picture, so an ingenious Representation of

of a Man's Failings and Weakness, giveth both Lustre and Credit to the Truth of his Virtues: Nor doth it ruin the Reputation of a great, or a wise, or an honest Man, that he has mistaken some things, failed in some Points, and followed Measures which have not answered his Expectation. The wisest Man is not omniscient; and we see, by what has happened in our own Days, that, in different Junctures, in times of popular confusion, when there is an universal Jumble, Politicians and Statesmen are as much puzzled, and as much at their Wits End, as he who never studied one Maxim of Government. And also that in such times, it is very usual for Ignorance and Malice to raise Clamours of Treachery, Dishonesty, and the like; when the Persons so charged can prove their Integrity and Innocence to a Demonstration, and even to have common Prudence too, but only that they are Men, that is, Creatures, who neither know all things nor foresee all things, nor of Power to do and help all things. So I would not be thought to question the Integrity of that great Man, but only the Prudence and Faithfulness of the Historian, whose Pen is more guided by Passion than Discretion, and doth serve some private Design more often than Truth. Wherefore the Author of these Discourses hath very wisely observed, that his Credit was of small Weight to persuade Belief: Which brings to my Remembrance a remarkable Passage I had from a *Scotchman* of known Ingenuity. There was a *Scotch* Bishop of *Aberdeen* (*Dr. Scougal*) who had a Son of eminent Parts and Virtues: This Youth died very young, and very much regretted: *Dr. Burnet* desired to write an Account of him, and for this End wrote to some in *Scotland* to furnish him with Materials; and considering that the Father would not live long, he also desired Memoirs of the Father as well as of the Son,

that

that he might draw and publish them together. This being communicated to a Friend of the Bishop, and by him to the Bishop himself, the good old Man would by no means hearken to it; and was so far from giving Consent, that he strictly charged his Friend never to give way to Dr. *Burnet's* writing his Life, or any wise to encourage or assist it. Being urged to give his Reason for so strict and peremptory a Charge? he just reply'd (like a modest and good Man) that his Life would be of no great Use to the World; and then, that Dr. *Burnet's* declaiming way of writing did rather hurt ones Memory. His hyperbolical Strains and excessive Encomiums could only pass for Romance, and would never be believed. And lastly, he added, that he was afraid Dr. *Burnet* would bring himself to that Pass, that it should not much advance any Man's Reputation to have his Life written by him; which he said, because he was put in Mind of the Doctor's Skill in writing the Lives of Men. I am told, that this good Bishop both understood the Doctor well, and was very able to judge of Men; and to tell you plainly, I have ever since had a Veneration for his Lordship's Judgment and Memory.

The Author of these Discourses makes mention of his circular Letter to the *Scotch* Bishops, but seems not to have seen it, or retain much of it, or to give an exact Account of it. I have seen one of the Originals under his own Hand, for he sent one to each Bishop; and I am informed that there are several Copies of it in that Kingdom, and I believe the Copy which I saw is still extant, which perhaps I may retrieve; and if I do, I shall send it to you for the Use of the worthy Author of these Discourses. Tho' Mr. *Burnet* was very young, yet his Spirit was too great to be confined to a private Parish; the conducting a small Flock was for some inferior Souls;
his

his Aim was to lead the Leaders themselves, and to prescribe to the very Fathers of the Church. The Episcopal Government was but newly set up, the general Prejudices of those who had been bred up under Presbytery were not worn off, the Bishops had not concerted how they should use their Authority, or what Reformatations to make, or were afraid to attempt too much at once: This occasioned Complaints both against the Men and the Government; and all our Author's Relations being bigotted Fanatics, they continually dunned him with their Clamours, and informed him of all Reports. This tender Spirit presently received these Sparks of Sedition, and his Wrath kindled like that of *Elibu*, and I remember he begins as he did: *I am young, and ye are very old, wherefore I was afraid, and durst not shew you mine Opinion. I said Days should speak, and Multitude of Years should teach Wisdom. But there is a Spirit in Man, and the Inspiration of the Almighty giveth them Understanding. Great Men are not always wise, neither do the aged understand Judgment: Wherefore I said, hearken unto me, and I will shew mine Opinion.* And thus (with a saucy Impudence) he goes on charging them either with what was really faulty, or with what Ignorance and Malice suggested; for he upbraids them, as the Author of the Discourses observes, for riding in Coaches, keeping Liverymen, and having their Rooms hanged, and such like, as most scandalous Crimes; tho' I am told, that only the two Archbishops kept their Coaches, and that none of the Bishops were more coach'd up and down the Streets of *Edinburgh*, or had their Chambers at home better hanged or furnished than this zealous and mortified Spark, while he was but a private Presbyter. But as this shews him to have been acted by a hasty and inconsiderate Zeal, so behold an Instance of gross Disingenuity. He desired
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them to take his Advice and Freedom the better, because it proceeded from pure Zeal to their Order and Affection to their Persons, and because (if I remember right) he was not like *Cham*, to expose his Father's Nakedness, but one who sought to cover it by a private Application. If it had been so, there was some Excuse for him; but his Design was to exalt himself by depressing them, and by those bold and free Rebukes of the chief Rulers to recommend himself as some extraordinary Prophet; therefore lest his secret Design should have been spoiled by their concealing this Act of his Zeal, he gave out several Copies of his Letter, which were handed about among the Laicks before they came to some of the Bishops. I am sure he would not take such Usage well or patiently, from the best and oldest in the Diocese of *Sarum*; and if any Youngster (tho' never so sober and pious) would treat him but with half the Pertness, he would thunder against him with all his Power. His Pride and Vanity made him always affect to be singular, and would not let him bear the Condition of a private Life, nor be contented with any Station inferior to that which he has at present; and I doubt much his Ambition aims higher still. He did insinuate himself with all Sorts of People: He ran about to all Parties, and try'd to make them Friends, either out of Respect to his Usefulness, or out of Fear for the Discovery of their Intrigues and Secrets, which he had filched from them. The same Pride and Self-conceit makes him rule with Insolency, and treat his Inferiors with Contempt, unless they flatter him, and suffer him to dictate without Contradiction; for he thinks none equal to him in Parts: And indeed I think there be few who can equal his Memory, and none at all his Impudence; but very many who have a great deal more Solidity. He hath read much, but confusedly, and con-

considered little; from whence cometh the many Inconsistencies and Contradictions of which he is guilty. He seems to have no digested Principles of his own, but is moved by the Springs of other Men. When he conversed with Bishop *Leighton*, he breathed nothing but Piety, Mortification, and a Contempt of the World; but yet could never be prevailed upon by either the Advice or Practice of that Man to forsake meddling in State Affairs. When he was in Friendship with the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and had Expectation from the Court, he was all in Dialogues against the Fanaticks, and pressing absolute Subjection for Conscience Sake, and ever since his Air and Sough (as I heard one of his Countrymen speak) was disaffected both to Church and State. What he writes is generally the hasty Improvement of other Mens Thoughts, and what is suggested from the Conversation of others; for his Mind is a Hot-bed, which shoots out instantly whatever is cast into it. When a Toy or Fancy takes him, his Head cannot sleep till it be vented in a Book, or Preface, or Letter, or some such thing. That he may shew himself universally learned, he must write of all things; and out of Fear that any should have the Start of him, he runs before he is ready, without examining and digesting what is necessary to the Subject. When he travelled, he made such Haste both through Countries and Libraries, that he has given the World an exact Account of neither, and very often a false one of both, which every one who went after him has observed. *Monf. Simon* says, that that Text, 1 *John* v. 7. is to be found in the very MS. which he says wants it: And if it be so, there is no Excuse for him; and however, it is a shrewd Suspicion, when he made mention of such a Defect without some Caution or Reflection. And this Suspicion is very much confirmed by the Principles

Principles of those Youths which are bred about him, for some of them are not great Friends to revealed Religion, as he himself has been but a small Friend to the Church and its true Interest; for Erastianism has been his constant Principle, and almost the only thing which he has never swerved from, which gives too much Cause of Fear for the Church's Safety while he is at the Helm. But I will not trouble you nor myself any more with him. By this time you may understand my Sentiments of these Discourses, and how just I think the Chastisement which the Author gives these two Persons. I wish he that liveth may be brought by this Means to consider his ways better, and that others may take Warning, and not suffer themselves to be misled by the Principles or Practices of those two Men. Give my dutiful Respects to the worthy Author of these Discourses, and believe me still

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Your faithful Friend and Servant.